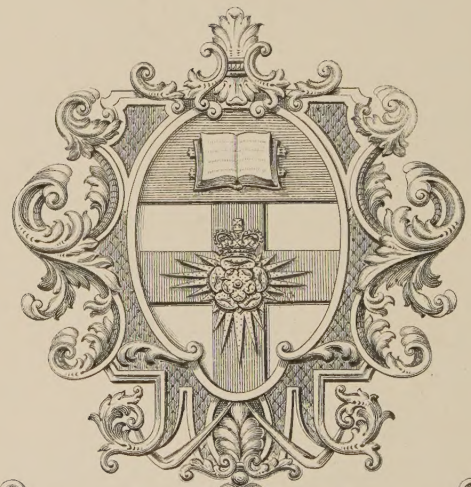

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DENYS SCULLY

1773–1830

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Third Series.

Vol. II.

LONDON

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7 SOUTH SQUARE, GRAY'S INN, W.C.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By the Rev. WILLIAM HUNT, M.A., D.Litt.

Delivered February 20, 1908.

It is pleasant to be able to record that the year which has passed since our last anniversary meeting has seen our Society make satisfactory progress in all respects. Our numbers have increased. Our losses by death have been nine, and by resignation nine, and four names have been removed from our roll for non-payment of subscription. On the other hand, forty-two new Fellows have been elected, among them some whom we have special reason to welcome, so that we have a net increase in subscribing and life Fellows of twenty, a far larger number than usual. We must, each one of us, do our best to keep up this rate of increase, remembering always the responsibility resting on the proposer and seconder of a candidate not to lay before the Council the name of anyone who will not be a credit to the Society. Our list of subscribing Libraries, British, colonial, and foreign, shows a net increase of eight, and a total of about 200. This we owe to the energy and influence of our Hon. Treasurer, though we certainly give Libraries a generous

return for their subscriptions. We have to thank Mr. Tedder also for his skilful management of our finances, which, as you may see by the Report of the Council, are in a healthy condition. The average attendance at our meetings has been good; our Library has received munificent gifts, and our publications have been issued with even more than usual promptitude. We are much indebted to our Director and to our Hon. Secretary for the time and labour which they—both of them busy men—devote to the furtherance of our interests.

Among our losses we have specially to regret the death of Mr. J. A. Doyle, the historian of the colonial period of the history of the present United States. Of his five volumes the first was published in 1882. He had other interests and pursuits, and we had to wait a long time for the completion of his work: his last two volumes appeared a few months before his death. As an historian he faithfully adhered to the rule which he laid down for himself in the Preface to his 'History of the Puritan Colonies,' never to be content with any authority short of the best that could be had, and his work is not less distinguished by the thoroughness with which he treated every side of his subject than it is by the accuracy of his statements and the soundness of his conclusions.

Turning to another subject, may I remind you that the second term of three years during which the Committee for Advanced Historical Teaching in London has carried on its undertaking is now ended; the period for which subscriptions were guaranteed has run out, and a fresh effort must be made if the lectures and classes in palaeography, diplomatic, and the knowledge requisite for the right use of the sources of History generally are to be continued? To you I need not dilate on the immense stores of historical material existing in London, richer probably in this respect than any other city. The object of the Committee is to enable students to take full advantage of this wealth by giving them such preliminary training in the use of authorities, alike in manuscript and in

print, as will start them on their work better equipped than we of an older generation were, that so they may do more for History than we have done. Paris has its *École des Chartes*, poor indeed in endowment, but magnificent in performance: shall not this greater, richer city of ours have the like? This fund may seem a small beginning compared with our hopes, but so long as the work is kept alive there is a chance that it may grow. An endowment may come from some enlightened millionaire, who may choose that worthy means of immortalising his name, or from some other source. The lectures and seminars dependent on the fund have been well attended by students of the right sort—good work has been done; it would be a sad thing if they had to be discontinued. From the first the fund has been closely connected with our Society: to the Chairman of the Committee, Dr. Prothero, we owe much; we supply all the members of the Committee; the treasurer of the fund is our treasurer; let him see that we do not mean to allow so excellent an undertaking to fail for lack of support.

As my last address to you was wholly concerned with more or less domestic matters, I propose for a change to read you this afternoon some notes I have made on a manuscript diary, written by Denys Scully during his visit to London in 1805 as a member of the deputation sent with a petition from the Irish Catholics to the two Houses of Parliament. This diary has been entrusted to me by the writer's grandson, Mr. Vincent Scully. Denys came of an old Tipperary family. Avoiding the question of his descent from the 'O'Scully of the sweet stories,' celebrated by Shan O'Dugan, a poet of the fourteenth century, I will not go further back than his father James, a wealthy landholder and grazier, who resided at Kilfeakle, co. Tipperary, held some 4,000 acres on leases for lives, and farmed 1,500 of them. He was loyal to the Government, and was in the commission of the peace. He has left a diary extending from 1772 to 1814, which is of economic interest, as it is chiefly occupied with records of his

business. Lord Dorchester, more famous as Sir Guy Carleton, the Governor of Quebec, told Denys that his father was 'one of the strongest-minded, acute, and honest men' he knew. From his diary and letters I gather that he had a masterful temper. Here, for example, is the notice in his diary of the marriage of one of his sons: 'William married Widow Row's daughter, an old girl, without a fortune; he will, and she will repent, and I will give him but 50*l.* a year.' James's eldest son, Roger, has also left a short diary of a tour in England, undertaken in 1792, when he was twenty—he died five years later—apparently in order to inspect recent improvements in stock-breeding and farming. He visited Bakewell's farm at Dishley, Mr. Chaplin's place at Louth, where he met Sir Joseph Banks, Mr. Coke's at Holkham, Lord Townshend's at Raynham, and Arthur Young's farm at Bradfield.

Denys Scully, our diarist, was born in 1773, and was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, being the second Roman Catholic admitted to that university for some 200 years, not the first, as the 'Dictionary of National Biography' asserts—that was a Count Poniatowski. He was called to the Irish Bar, became the author of a useful work on the Penal Laws, published in 1812, and had already published some pamphlets on the subject, which attracted much attention. Grave, cautious, and persistent, he had attained a leading position among the Irish Catholics as early as 1805, as his part in this deputation testifies. In spite of a tendency to treat all questions in a meticulous and lawyerlike spirit, he had a kindly temper. His domestic affections were strong; he was a good son and brother, and his letters to his second wife, Catherine, daughter of Vincent Eyre, are full of affectionate and graceful expressions. He fought at least one duel with the editor of a newspaper, who published a scurrilous attack upon him. In the letter he wrote to his wife the night before the meeting he says, that he must preserve his name pure and unsullied for his family 'according to the laws of society, which we must all obey.' As his diary shows, he had a due appreciation of generous living, and attached much

importance to good looks. He was not, however, himself a handsome man. His figure was squat and clumsy; he had a prominent nose, a broad forehead, and eyes that lacked expression.[1]

The petition which the deputies carried prayed for relief from disabilities. Though the Irish Catholics had already obtained the repeal of the more cruel of the penal laws, their position was still grievous and humiliating. The statute of 1793 granting them the franchise imposed on those who desired to vote a special and distasteful oath of qualification, and appended other troublesome conditions to the exercise of the privilege. They were debarred from sitting in either House of Parliament, from the higher legal and from all respectable municipal offices, and practically from commissions in the Army and Navy. I need scarcely remind you how Pitt intended to make the Union a great healing measure by following it up with a Bill for Catholic relief, how the expectation of this relief led Irish Catholics to vote for the Union, and so made its accomplishment possible, nor how bitterly their hopes were frustrated by the King's opposition. Pitt retired from office, and accurately estimating the strength of the King's prejudice and moved by his affliction, promised not to raise the question again during his reign.

After this disappointment the Catholics made no combined effort for relief until 1805. Meanwhile Fox, who was a consistent advocate of religious freedom, was urging, though not from the highest motives, a revival of the question, because, as he wrote in 1801, if Pitt opposed, as was expected, it would disgrace him, for it would show that he was subservient to the King.[2] In 1803 he looked forward to using the question as a weapon against the Court, and as a means of detaching Lord Grenville and Windham from Pitt.[3] Yet, while urging the Catholics to immediate action in order to embarrass Pitt, he told his friend Grey

[1] Sir T. Wyse, *Catholic Association of Ireland*, i. 152–56.

[2] *Memorials and Correspondence of C. J. Fox*, iii. 325–26, ed. Russell.

[3] *Ibid.* 429–30, 434–35, 442.

in April, 1804, that if a Ministry was formed cordially united in favour of their claims, he would delay granting relief in deference to the King's prejudices, especially in his afflicted state.[1] A fortnight later Pitt returned to office without him, and Fox again urged the Catholics to move in order that he might be able to discredit the Minister for taking the same course that he was himself prepared to take if he had gained office, and that he did take when he was in office in 1806.[2]

Pitt's position was not what it had been during his first administration. When he returned to office in May 1804, the King, besides demanding a renewal of his promise respecting the Catholic question, prevented him from forming a combined Ministry; Grenville, Windham, and their friends had deserted him; his Ministry was largely formed out of that which had served under Addington, and as there was no member of the Cabinet in the House of Commons except himself and Lord Castlereagh, who was a bad speaker, the defence of the Government on every question of importance devolved on him. The burden of the war lay heavy upon him: Napoleon seemed to dominate Europe. Pitt's health was failing, and early in 1805 he had a special cause of anxiety, for both parties were anxiously expecting the Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, which appeared a few days after his interview with the Catholic deputation and gave his enemies a triumph over him.

The Irish Catholics were divided in politics: the upper class generally were in favour of Pitt; the commercial men, led by James Ryan, one of themselves, of Fox. A meeting held in Dublin on February 16, 1805, under the presidency of Lord Fingall, adopted a petition to Parliament drawn up by Scully, and appointed Lord Fingall, Sir Thomas French, Sir Edward Bellew, and Counsellor Scully, and Ryan as the representative of the commercial men, with any Catholic

[1] *Memorials and Correspondence of C. J. Fox*, iv. 45.

[2] Lord Holland, *Memoirs of the Whig Party*, i. 213–18; Sir G. C. Lewis, *Administrations of Great Britain*, pp. 287–88.

peers who would join them, as a deputation, instructing them to request Pitt to bring their petition before Parliament, and if he felt precluded from supporting it 'at this moment,' to authorise him to state that they did not press for an immediate measure of relief. If Pitt still refused to introduce the petition, they were to entrust it to 'such other member as shall seem most eligible,' authorising him to make the same statement in case the Ministers would not support immediate legislation.

Scully left Dunleary, or Kingstown, as it is now called, on Tuesday night, February 26, in the 'Uxbridge' packet, carrying many letters of introduction. He landed at Holyhead on Wednesday after a passage of fourteen hours, left Holyhead on Thursday by the mail, and arrived in London at seven on Saturday morning. He at once set about canvassing the leading men of both parties, calling the same day at Castlereagh's house, 12 Upper Brook Street. Castlereagh, he says, 'received me with civility considering his general coldness of manner'; he told Scully that 'the time was very unfavourable,' that the Ministry could not carry a Relief Bill even with the help of the Opposition, and 'that the coronation oath was still considered an insuperable difficulty, though he was not of that opinion.' Above all things he deprecated a discussion in Parliament, and he thought that the idea of a declaratory vote, approving of the principle without asking for immediate legislation, was 'impracticable.' Castlereagh assured him that Pitt would willingly grant the deputies an interview.

The next morning, Sunday, at half-past nine, Fox received Scully by appointment at his house in Arlington Street, wearing a plain woollen dressing-gown and without his cravat: the Maccaroni of earlier days had become unpleasantly negligent of his person. The instructions to the deputies were not to his mind. Being out of office he would have preferred to introduce the petition himself, following it up with a motion. In any case, in order to use it against Pitt, he would have to convince the deputation that it was

bad policy to make an effort for immediate legislation depend on Ministerial support; that Pitt could, if he liked, carry a Relief Bill, and that discussion in Parliament was necessary. Pitt, however, besides his conviction that a Bill for relief could not at that time be carried, could not stir the question in face of his promise to the King; and discussion of it would place him in an awkward position and afford the Opposition a handle against him. The instructions, by offering to waive immediate legislation, suggested a way by which, his friends in Dublin thought, he could, while satisfying the petitioners, avoid a breach with the King. Fox, Scully writes, expressed his disapproval of the course they proposed to take, and said that 'it lays them at the feet of Mr. Pitt, that it discredits their cause, and weakens the zeal of their friends . . . that our making a declaration against pressing the adoption of the measure now has the effect of declaring against it during the King's reign; that he censures such an idea: it points odium against the King.' He added that he had heard that the King 'within these few days has applauded Pitt for having managed and played us off so well for him. On the whole he considers us to be in a very bad situation.' Pitt, he said, 'could, if he chose, carry the measure now thro' both Houses by an immense majority, the [adverse] minority could not in the Commons amount to 70, if the House should count 450,' and though it might be greater in the Lords, he could certainly carry it. Scully suggested pressing Pitt to a declaratory vote on the principle of the petition, and Fox replied that that alone could get them out of the scrape. Fox's remarks were certainly politic; whether they were strictly honest is another question.

Among the many calls which Scully made that day was one on Colonel McMahon, member for Aldborough, and one of the Prince's friends; for he was anxious to ascertain the line which the Prince would take. The Prince, McMahon said, would be their friend, but by Fox's advice he had lately resolved, in order to avoid 'slander and obliquy,' that he would take no part in the matter: he would neither vote

himself, 'nor suffer his few confidential members to vote,' but such of his friends in Parliament as were not in his service would support the petition. The Prince, as Sheridan told Scully a few days later, was adopting 'a middle line of conduct,' a piece of characteristic shuffling which, Scully replied, 'would not please.' McMahon himself was in favour of the petition; he advised Scully to try to see Pitt at once, and said that the best channel would be through Pitt's personal friend Sir Evan Nepean. 'He does not,' Scully writes, 'believe that the King used any such expression as Mr. Fox mentioned to me, for he knows that within the last eight days the King was wholly ignorant that there was to be any petition, and he does not believe that Mr. Fox has any channel of information of what the King may have said since.' After some fruitless attempts to see Nepean, Scully received a call from him. Nepean, then one of the Lords of the Admiralty, had lately resigned the Chief Secretaryship for Ireland in consequence of a quarrel with Lord Hardwicke, the Lord-Lieutenant. He was more encouraging than Castlereagh, and assured Scully that it was by no means determined to reject the request of the deputation, and that Pitt would lay it before the Cabinet. He arranged to drive Scully down to his house at Fulham to dine and sleep the following Friday.

Later in the day Scully had an interview with Charles (afterwards Lord) Grey, who impressed him as 'very reasonable, moderate, perfectly a man of business . . . particularly rational, clear, manly, and unaffected.' Although Grey differed from Fox in holding that it would help the cause if Pitt merely laid the petition on the table of the House with a declaration in favour of its principle, he agreed with him that the authority for delaying legislation would give the Minister an advantage, and that it would be awkward to force a discussion in the face of it. He said that Fox and Lord Grenville seemed the most interested in the matter, and that he would abide by whatever Fox decided.

Denis Browne, member for co. Mayo, and brother of the

Marquis of Sligo, seems, during a call on Scully, to have expressed the opinion of at least a large section of Pitt's Protestant followers in Ireland. He would support the petition, but would declare in the House that it was ill-timed, 'the Empire being distressed, the same obstacles [the King's prejudices] remaining, Pitt unsettled in his place, &c.' He said that the whole was set on by the Opposition, that they boasted at the end of the last session that they 'would put Pitt to the wall with the Catholic question,' that 'Lord King[1] had since put up Ryan to the agitation of it, and that the whole was the work of a few ambitious men eager to embarrass the Minister.' Scully thought his discouraging visitor 'a bustling, empty, fresh-coloured Irish squire, quite calculated for the old Parliament of Ireland, having no idea of public good or difference from the Minister.' Browne introduced him to Lord Sligo, whom he found breakfasting with the Marchioness[2] at eleven o'clock. Sligo, 'a good-hearted, jolly, plain man, corpulent and infirm,' though more sympathetic, shared his brother's opinion that 'discussion must now be very prejudicial, as success is hopeless, and it will only injure and alienate Mr. Pitt'; and he said that 'he had it from Pitt's own mouth within that week that our coming forward was imprudent and injurious.'

By March 11 Fox, Grey, and Ponsonby had determined on a line of conduct, and Grey told Scully that if Pitt should bring in the petition (apparently availing himself of the authority not to ask for immediate legislation), no discussion could arise except observations on his not now carrying the measure, but that they would make copious speeches upon the motion that the petition do lie on the table, though no division could be risked; and that if Pitt refused the petition they would bring it in, but under great disadvantage on account of the authority tacked to it.

[1] Peter, seventh Lord King (1776–1833), a Whig, supported Catholic emancipation and was an eminent authority on currency questions. His elder son, who succeeded him, was created Earl of Lovelace.

[2] See below, p. 16.

The Irish deputation excited the interest of the English Roman Catholics, and Charles Butler, the secretary of their committee, gave Scully some help. Butler's policy was condemned by the more strongly Roman party among them, and some of them disliked him personally; John Dillon, for example, told Scully that Butler was 'a deceitful, undermining, and envious man, especially against young barristers.' Although the deputation had a distinctly Irish aim, Scully assured the English Catholics that it was not meant 'merely as an Irish business' to the exclusion of their interests. This satisfied their doubts, and they paid him much attention. He called on Lord Shrewsbury, who signed the petition as Earl of Wexford and Waterford, and he and Lady Shrewsbury talked to him 'about the stage, singers, actors, and Betty, the young Roscius,' who made his *début* in Dublin, and had just created a *furore* in London by his first season at Drury Lane. He was kindly received by Jerninghams and Huddlestons. The Huddleston family, he notes, had a foible about the Plantagenets. General Huddleston, of the Artillery, who was a Protestant, caused much laughter at Woolwich, for he used to tell his brother-officers, 'as it were in confidence,' that 'he had a nearer relationship to the Throne than the reigning family.' Scully dined with the Cisalpine, the Catholic, Club at the Crown and Anchor, 'the dinner and wine very good, the company civil, and, though not very mirthful, yet chearful and well regulated.'

While the deputies were waiting for an interview with Pitt, Scully's time was chiefly employed in making and receiving calls and attending the meetings of the deputation. He did some business for himself, as arranging with Ginger, a bookseller in Piccadilly, who also sold stationery, to send him books in payment for any of his pamphlets which Ginger sold. He dined generally at coffee-houses, and often as a guest. When he dined with Lord Southwell at Flading's Hotel he did not get dinner until past six, and then it was badly served. He returned to his lodgings, 7 Great Ryder Street, to dress, and then went to Mrs. Butler's music party

at 44 Great Ormond Street. There he found a large company, 'many women, none handsome except Lady Shrewsbury,' a native of Dublin. The principal singers were Dignum, a professional singer of some note, who had been a pupil of old Linley, Sheridan's father-in-law; Charles Butler, and young Tom Sheridan, who sang sea songs admirably; and Scully remarked how Sheridan, who was dull and exhausted after taking a leading part in the debate of the night before, seemed 'uncommonly fond of the young man and occupied about him.' Scully was invited to stay to supper, 'which was given about one; the supper was very poor and bad and the port abominable.' His visit to Sir Evan Nepean's country house, Broom House, near Parson's Green, was pleasant. Only Lady Nepean and her children were at dinner, 'an excellent plain dinner, on silver; good wine, and he gave me an uncommonly good bottle of Claret.' Nepean told him 'that in and about London people associate very much in political knots; that the families of the Government men are much acquainted together, and that this forms a great bond of connection.' Pitt often appeared at Sir Evan's after dinner had begun, would take 'a chair in a corner, and laying aside state and gravity, would gambol and play with the boys.'

On the following Sunday afternoon, March 10, Scully heard that the Cabinet was then sitting and probably discussing the Catholic business; and on Monday Pitt sent his answer to Lord Fingall's request that he would receive the deputation, and appointed the next day for the interview. The deputies at once met to decide on a course of action. The proceedings generally illustrate the distance which Pitt had placed between himself and all, whether lords or commoners, save his personal friends. On Tuesday the eight deputies went to his residence in Downing Street, at half-past twelve, in Lord Shrewsbury's and Lord Trimleston's coaches, Lord Kenmare's coach following empty. The procession, Scully notes with pride, 'looked very handsome and well. I carried the petition, Lord Fingall saying that I was best

entitled to do so. We were received at Mr. Pitt's in some state, and ushered through several servants into a small anteroom, where we waited not five minutes before we were introduced to him. He sat in a large handsome Library room with pillars &c. He bowed very civilly whilst Lord Fingall, after his own name had been announced, introduced each of the deputies to him by name. He wore dirty boots and odd fashioned, lank leather breeches, but otherwise well dressed and cleanly, his hair powdered &c. He was very courteous and cordial in words and looks, but his carriage was stiff and strait, perhaps naturally so. His face cold and harsh, rather selfish, but acute and sensible. We took our seats after much reciprocal ceremony. He sat in the upper part of the room at the Library table, Lord Fingall next to him. Lord Shrewsbury was next to Lord F., but got up and desired me to take his place as being best prepared on the subject, and he said so before Mr. Pitt. . . . His [Pitt's] manner is very direct and distinct. He speaks rather in a measured articulation, and looks about incessantly at each person, whether he or another is speaking: indeed his eyes, tho' bad and ill-coloured, are very busy and speaking. He seemed to look most at Ryan and myself.'

Lord Fingall opened the conference by assuring the Minister that the Catholics considered him their best friend, and desired that he would introduce their petition. Pitt, after some words of compliment, replied that the proposed measure would be very salutary, whenever the proper time should arrive, and he would not therefore speak of its rightfulness, but only of its expediency, as regards the time of proposing it; that there were strong objections against it at present, 'which he hinted pretty plainly to prevail in a certain quarter' [*i.e.* with the King], and that in these circumstances he could not introduce the petition. Ryan, Lord Fingall, Scully, and Lord Kenmare pressed him, and declared that they would persevere from session to session. Pitt replied with a smile that he could not say how long the objections might last. Kenmare 'then put to him the carrying a

declaratory vote upon the policy and expediency of the measure,' Scully and others urging that such a vote 'would not attack the scruples existing in a certain quarter, and would facilitate a measure which the Minister himself had at heart, by paving the way for its success whenever these objections should be removed.' Pitt said that that course was impracticable; that it would excite discussion; that any discussion would be injurious unless followed by the adoption of the measure; that, circumstanced as he was, he could not carry the measure, and that he must therefore decline the proposal. Then Kenmare proceeded to the third proposition: would he introduce the petition and lay it on the table, saying that the petitioners did not ask for immediate legislation? Kenmare said that the Catholics looked to him as their patron, and 'were determined to cling to him and His Majesty's Government as long as they possibly could.' With apparent regret Pitt replied that he was equally precluded from adopting this course; nor would he give way, though the deputies said that if he would not introduce the petition another would, and they must go further. Indeed, he said that personally 'he should be less embarrassed if discussion should arise on another member's introducing it than upon his doing so,' and, Scully reports, declared that 'he must oppose it.' The deputation, finding that no impression could be made upon him, withdrew, 'he accompanying us thro' his room to the hall with great form, bowing and smiling all the way.'

Fox called on Scully the same afternoon, wished much to have the management of the cause, but said 'that if objections to him particularly should exist with any Catholics, he would recommend Lord Henry Petty [afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne] as by far the very ablest of the young men now in public life, laborious, regular, and studious.' He proposed that the petition should be introduced at once, with a notice of a motion to be made after the recess, when the Irish county members would have returned from the assizes, and said that 'the Prince and all whom he can influence will certainly

support it, but the Prince has some prejudices against dissenters which he must give up; for the Irish Catholics cannot look for success without also including the English Catholics, and therefore seeking a repeal or some modification of the Test laws.' A few days later, however, McMahon told Scully that the Prince had promised his father not 'to support the Question during the King's life,' that he had thought that the petitioners were acting with Pitt's concurrence, and did not look to him, and that he should have advised them not to come forward at present. The Prince further said that it would embarrass him if the question was made a party measure, and that if Fox introduced the petition it would increase the King's antipathy towards it. The matter, however, was then already settled, for the day after their interview with Pitt the deputies, after a faint protest from Lord Fingall, decided to put their petition in the hands of Fox and Grenville. Fox again called on Scully, expressed his pleasure at this decision, and arranged a meeting to settle proceedings.

By Sir John Throgmorton's advice Scully called on Cobbett, who, Throgmorton said, though not venal, would like the compliment and could be useful. Cobbett declared that the public was in favour of the Catholics, and that, as Fox had said, no opinion of any consequence was against them. Scully complimented him on having 'written down' Addington's administration. 'Aye,' he replied, 'and I will have Pitt down too and Lord Sidmouth along with him, perhaps not immediately but at any rate before a year.' He explained that he had been prejudiced against Irishmen and Catholics, because in America he had met only United Irishmen, whom he 'opposed and abhorred,' and on his return had associated with men who were enemies to emancipation, and he had therefore written against it, but that he was then preparing something which would account for his change of opinion.

Some of Pitt's supporters still made efforts to prevent the deputation from committing their cause to the Opposition. Lord Dorchester told Scully that if they could not have the

Government with them they ought not to proceed, and Lord Hutchinson, that if they applied to the Opposition they would alienate Pitt, who was their best friend. Nepean suggested that they had misunderstood Pitt and ought to ask for another interview, and Lord Sligo, who had been in communication with the Minister through a third party, after declaring that the Opposition only wanted the business to use it as 'a switch for Pitt,' said that Pitt would not oppose them if they got some neutral member to introduce their petition, but would do so violently if they chose one of the Opposition; they should see him again, and consult with him on the choice of a person. He arranged a meeting between Scully and Huskisson, then an Under-Secretary of State. Huskisson told Scully that Pitt wished that the petition should not be placed in the hands of men belonging to the recognised Opposition, for that would make it a hostile measure; that Pitt would gladly confer with them as to the choice of a neutral member, and that if they chose one, he would declare himself in the House in favour of the principle of the measure and would confine his objections to the point of time. Finally, Huskisson said that, if authorised by the Minister, he would write a letter offering the deputation another interview. Nothing, however, came of these efforts, for the same day the deputation went by appointment, again with three coaches, to Lord Grenville's house in 'Oxford road,' and had a conference with Grenville, Spencer, Fox, Grey, and Windham. At Fox's request they had already decided to leave him and Grenville to act as they thought best, and it was agreed that notice should be given in Parliament the next day, and the petition introduced on the following Monday, the 25th.

During the latter part of his visit Scully had a conversation with Lady Sligo,[1] who 'reprobated the harshness and

[1] Louisa Catherine, daughter and co-heiress of Richard Earl Howe, married in 1787 to John Denis (Browne), Earl of Altamont, created Marquis of Sligo December 29, 1800, and Baron Monteagle of Westport in the peerage of the U.K. on February 20, 1806.

arbitrary conduct of the Irish squires towards the poor and pitied the defenceless condition of the lower classes.' She seems, he writes, 'to be familiarly acquainted with the subject and a very honest, sincere, unaffected, and good-hearted woman,' and he describes her personal appearance somewhat minutely—'a tall, good-proportioned figure, with a sensible, good physiognomy and rather small features,' and so on. He dined in the City with a Mr. MacDonnell, and, among other guests, met Don Justamente, admiral of the lately captured Spanish frigates, and 'a little Spanish captain,' who were on parole: 'the dinner and the wines were capital and the evening pleasant with good conversation.' He also dined with a large party at Sir John Throgmorton's: Sir John he describes as 'a very gentlemanly and becoming man,' but he criticises his hostess rather severely. 'His lady,' he says, 'who was a Giffard, is a little vulgar, very plain, with an overstrained warmth and force of civility.' Lord Petre, one of the guests, was 'a heavy, stupid, sottish-looking man;' Mr. Errington 'very conversible, well-bred, and intelligent.' 'The dinner and wines were of the very first kind; services of plate all through; Burgundy and Champagne of the first quality at dinner, and claret, Madeira, Port, &c., very excellent afterwards. The solid dishes at dinner were a small saddle of mutton roast, a turkey roast, chicken boiled, wild fowl, &c. There were several dishes of French cookery, fricandeau, &c. The dinner was rather light, but sufficient in quantity, and had a very good effect.' He notes as a new fashion, which was seemingly not then common, at least in Ireland, that 'about half past ten Sir John had coffee introduced, which stopped the wine-drinking, it happened well and is a good habit. . . . At eleven we broke up.'

On March 25 Scully went to the House of Commons to see the petition presented. It was presented by Fox 'with a very few words of preface,' and was ordered to lie on the table, Fox giving notice of a motion for May 9. A like course was pursued by Grenville in the Lords. The debate on Grenville's motion that 'the House immediately resolve

themselves into a committee to take the prayer of the petition into consideration' was begun on May 10 and adjourned to the 13th. In supporting the petition Grenville, in a remarkably able speech, stated that no promise had been made to the Catholics at the time of the Union, but that an expectation was created that they might look for favour from the Imperial Parliament, and 'additional concessions were often hinted at as one of the great objects of the Union.' On the same side Lord Holland spoke remarkably well, and Lord Hutchinson uttered an eloquent defence of the Irish character. Against the motion the speech of Lord Redesdale was perhaps the best on that side. The motion was rejected by 178 non-contents to 49 contents, a majority of 129.

In the Commons Fox made a similar motion on the 13th, supporting it with one of his greatest speeches, which lasted for three hours and a-half. The debate, which went on until three in the morning, was resumed the next day. Its chief event was the first speech in the Imperial Parliament of Henry Grattan, the newly elected member for Malton. Grattan supported the motion and, in spite of his unfortunate manner, his magnificent oratory evoked rapturous applause even from the Ministerial party, and Pitt himself referred to the splendour of his eloquence. Pitt's own speech was adroit. He reminded the House of the bitterness of his disappointment at the failure of his endeavour on behalf of the Catholics and of the sacrifice which he had made in maintaining their cause, and he objected to the motion simply on the ground that it was inopportune: he knew, he said, that it was at present impossible to carry a measure of relief, that the mass of Protestants were against it, and that instead of union and conciliation it would only produce animosity. The motion was negatived by 336 to 124, a majority against it of 212. The Catholics had to wait for emancipation until 1829.

Scully's business in London had ended with the introduction of the petition, for the deputation agreed to leave the future management of the business in the hands of Lords

Shrewsbury, Kenmare, and Trimleston. He left London on Wednesday evening, March 27, by the Holyhead mail, which started from the 'Golden Cross'; he arrived at Holyhead at six on Friday evening, sailed three hours later, and on Saturday at noon landed at Dunleary whence, he writes, 'I came home in a jingle.'

THE BALLAD HISTORY OF THE REIGNS OF HENRY VII. AND HENRY VIII.

By Professor C. H. FIRTH, LL.D., V.P.

Read November 21, 1907.

BALLADS are useful as a supplement to graver historical authorities, and throw a light upon the history of the past which we could not derive from other sources. It is generally not difficult to know what the great men of any day—the nobles, and statesmen, and men of letters—thought about the events which happened in their time. We have their letters, or their speeches, or their biographies ; but it is difficult to know what the common people who formed the mass of the nation thought, and it is important to know this too. Here the ballads help us, because they were the literature of the populace, composed by men of the people for the people, reflecting popular feeling and helping to shape it. We may divide them roughly into three classes : firstly, there are the long narrative ballads which embody either traditional accounts of some past event or popular versions of some recent event, and show us what people believed to have happened ; secondly, there is another class of ballads which express the feelings of the moment about the events of the day, and set forth the joy or sorrow of the people about something which was happening at the time. These are often satirical in their tone, and not easy to distinguish from the regular satirical poems of the period composed by professional writers.

The narrative ballads were for the most part handed down orally or in manuscript ; most of those which survive exist in manuscripts dating from the later part of the sixteenth or the early part of the seventeenth century, and were first printed

by antiquarians at a later date. On the other hand, the expressions of opinion about contemporary events often found their way into print at once, and were sold and circulated like any other form of literature at the time when they were composed. This kind of ballad began to be printed towards the end of Henry VIII.'s reign, and was published still more frequently under Edward VI. and Mary, while hundreds of them issued from the press in the days of Elizabeth.

There is yet a third class of ballads to be mentioned. At the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century professional ballad-makers sprang up, and began to produce historical ballads for the market, just as people produce historical text-books now. They took the legendary history of England as they found it told by Tudor chroniclers, such as Hall or Grafton or Holinshed, and put it into verse for the delectation and instruction of the people. The three chief of these professional ballad-makers were Ulpian Fulwell, Thomas Deloney, and Richard Johnson. They should be classed with popular historians rather than popular poets, for their prosaic verses show us what sort of a king people conceived Henry VIII. to be a generation or two after his death, and what version of his character was received as true.

A century, however, lies between the accession of the Tudors and the rise of these professional writers of historical ballads. At the time when Henry VII. ascended the throne the men who wrote the ballads were either the minstrels who sang them or dependents of the great families whose deeds they celebrated. Judging from the small part of this literature which has survived, each of the greater and more famous feudal families seems to have had its bard or its poet. There are fragments of a cycle of ballads about the Percys, beginning with 'Chevy Chase,' and of another about the Howards, and of a third about the Stanleys. The third is the most important historically, for the Stanleys and their dependents played the chief part in the events which made Henry VII. King of England.

One ballad of the Stanley cycle is called 'The Rose of England.'[1] It is to some extent allegorical, for each of the leading personages is designated by his cognisance or crest, not by his name. Henry himself is the Rose and Richard is the White Boar. England is pictured as a fair garden with a beautiful tree of red roses in its midst. Then came in 'a beast men call a boar,' and he 'rooted this garden up and down,' and tore asunder the rose-tree, and buried its branches in a clod of clay that they might never bloom or bear again. But a sprig of the rose survived. Henry landed in England to claim his right and Lord Stanley joined him. Stanley is typified in 'the Old Eagle . . . gleaming gay, of all fair birds the best,' and together they overthrow the boar. There are some historical incidents imbedded in the allegory. One is an account of the refusal of the bailiff of Shrewsbury, Master Mitton, to admit Henry and his followers. The other is an account of the skill with which the Earl of Oxford arrayed Henry's army at Bosworth; the Blue Boar, 'wary and wise of wit,' so managed that the Tudor soldiers had both sun and wind in their favour.

Much more interesting than this archaic allegory is another ballad belonging to the same cycle, of which two versions survive, one in a manuscript of Queen Elizabeth's time, the second in a manuscript of Charles II.'s time.[2] 'The Song of the Lady Bessee,' as it is called, is not a short allegory, but a story as long as one of the books of the 'Iliad'—well constructed, vivid, dramatic, and marked by an epic breadth of treatment. The heroine of the ballad is Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV. The tyrant Richard, who had just lost his wife, Anne Neville, wishes to make Elizabeth

[1] Hales and Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio MS.* iii. 187; Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, iii. 331. The quotations given are modernised in this paper.

[2] Both are given in *The most Pleasant Song of the Lady Bessy*, edited by J. O. Halliwell, for the Percy Society in 1847. A third version is given in *Bishop Percy's Folio MS.*, edited by Hales and Furnivall, iii. 319. My quotations, of which the spelling is modernised, are taken from all three versions according to convenience.

his second wife, and distressed at this prospect she turns to Lord Stanley—'father Stanley' as she calls him, because she had been committed to his charge by Edward IV., and had lived for a time in his household. Her royal wooer, she complains, is becoming pressing:

> It is not three days past and gone
> Since my uncle Richard sent after me,
> A bachelor, and a bold baron,
> [And] a doctor of divinity.

But rather than marry the murderer of her brothers she will be burnt on Tower Hill, drawn by wild horses through the streets of London, or slay herself with a sharp sword. The crown of England is her right by birth, and she will marry no one but the young earl of Richmond, to whom she is betrothed. She entreats Stanley to help her gain both husband and crown. He hesitates, for he fears the tyrant. He were undone if Richard knew of this; both himself and the princess would perish by the executioner, and the child yet unborn would rue the consequences of that day's meeting. But she persists, appealing to his pity for herself, to his gratitude for her father's favours, and at last playing upon his fears. Richard could not be trusted; he would destroy Stanley as he had destroyed Buckingham; once in a moment of confidence Richard had told her that within three years he would extirpate the Stanleys root and branch. . . . So at last Stanley yields to her tears, but still distrustfully; for many a man is brought to great woe through telling his secrets to women. She must be cautious—'fields have eyes and woods have ears.' He cannot write, and no scrivener can be trusted to put on paper such dangerous messages as he must send. But the lady Bessie is accomplished. When she was young her father sent for a scrivener from lovely London, who taught both her and her sister to read and write; she can write, she tells Stanley, not only English, but French and Spanish letters to send to Richmond beyond the seas. The Earl replies, 'You are a proper wench,' and agrees to all she plans. At night,

'disguised in strange manner,' he comes to her chamber door; she lets him in herself; 'they ate the spice and drank the wine,' and then he dictates the fateful letters to 'the lady fair and free.' She writes to his son, Lord Strange, at Lathom, to his brother, Sir William Stanley, at Holt Castle, to his nephew Sir John Savage, and to his friend Gilbert Talbot. A bold esquire indeed is Gilbert Talbot, on the worst of terms with Richard and deep in debt, but

> There durst no sergeant him arrest,
> He is called so parlous of his body.

The lady finds also a trusty messenger to carry these letters—one Humphrey Brereton, an old servant of King Edward's, and he sets forth on his errand. Each of the persons he is sent to promises to obey, but each reveals his character by the manner in which he receives the dangerous message. Lord Strange sighs and sheds a tear; Gilbert Talbot laughs with joy; cautious old Sir William Stanley stands and thinks and says nothing, but gnaws the end of his staff, and at last tears the letter into three pieces and throws it into the water. Disguised as merchants the conspirators journey to London and meet Lord Stanley at an inn in the suburbs. Humphrey Brereton is again chosen to bear a message to the Duke of Richmond in Brittany, and with it three mule-loads of gold to equip an expedition to England. He takes ship at Liverpool, escapes the pirate galleys of the Italians which infest the Channel, and makes his way to Beggrames Abbey in Brittany, where Richmond is dwelling. The porter of the abbey is a Cheshire man like Humphrey himself; he lets him in at once, and as Humphrey does not know the Prince of England, describes Henry to him. There he is, shooting at the butts with three lords; he wears a gown of black velvet that reaches to his knees; he has a long visage and a pale one, and a little above his chin he has a wart:

> His face is white, the wart is red,
> Thereby you may him ken.

All these picturesque and minute personal details seem to bear the stamp of personal observation rather than imagination, and it has been inferred that the author of the ballad was Humphrey Brereton himself. Be that as it may, in August 1485 Henry lands at Milford Haven, the Stanleys and their retainers gather to his banner, and he meets Richard at Bosworth Field. Richard has kept Lord Strange as a hostage for the behaviour of his kin, and sworn that he shall die. A block is made ready on the field for him. 'If I must die,' says Lord Strange, 'alas for my lady that is at home; long may she sit at the table waiting for her lord, but we shall meet at doomsday when the great doom it shall be.' He takes the gold ring from his finger, and gives it to his servant, 'if my kinsmen are vanquished let her take my son and carry him in exile over the seas, that he may come again another time, and wreak vengeance for his father's death.' The battle goes against Richard, and naturally this is due to the prowess of the Stanleys:

> There may no man their strokes abide
> The Stanleys dints they be so strong,

says a knight to King Richard, and advises him to mount and fly. Richard will not hear of flight:

> Give me my battle axe in my hand,
> And set my crown on my head so high,
> For by him that made both sun and moon,
> King of England this day I will die.

He falls fighting; his crown is dashed from his head, his body stripped and tied on a horse. The Lady Bessy meets the body as it enters the gate of Leicester, and taunts the dead man. 'How likest thou now the slaying of my two brethren?' says she. 'Welcome, gentle uncle, home.'

The poetical merit of the ballad is very considerable. The historical interest of it lies in this: historians in general agree that it probably contains a certain number of true facts handed down by tradition, yet at the same time, owing to the scantiness of the other evidence about the conspiracy

against Richard, it is impossible to determine exactly where the fact ends and the fiction begins.[1]

In this Stanley cycle, as I venture to call it, there are two more ballads which deserve mention. Both deal with the events of 1513. One is a long rhyming chronicle whose alliterative style shows its antiquity, entitled 'Scottish Field.'[2] It begins with the battle of Bosworth, and describes Henry VIII.'s accession, his expedition to France, and the siege of Terouenne. The King of France bribes the Scots to invade England, and the battle of Flodden follows. Many thousands of Lancashire and Cheshire men bear a part in it, all wearing the Stanley badge on their coats:

> Every bearne had on his breast broidered full fair
> A foot of the fairest fowl that ever flew on wing.

But the Earl of Derby is with the king in France, though James Stanley, Bishop of Ely, and Sir John Stanley are at Flodden, so they fight under the command of Sir Edmund Howard. This discourages them, and they do not win as much glory as usual, 'for they were wont at all wars to wait upon the Stanleys.' Hence a second ballad called 'Flodden Field,' was written, evidently with the purpose of vindicating them.[3] The Earl of Surrey after the battle has sent a false report to the king, accusing Lord Derby's retainers of misconduct, and Henry upbraids the earl:

> How likest thou Lancashire and Cheshire both
> Which were counted chief of chivalry?
> Falsely are they fled and gone,
> And never a one is true to me.

[1] The ballad, for instance, mentions the use of artillery at Bosworth. 'The schottes of gunnes were so feirce.' This is confirmed by the fact that the balls of 'serpentynes' have been found on the field. On the value of the ballad see Gairdner, *Life and Reign of Richard III.* ed. 1878, p. 401.

[2] Hales and Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio MS.* i. 199.

[3] Hales and Furnivall, *Percy MS.* i. 313; Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, iii. 353. There is also a later ballad on Flodden in Deloney's *Jack of Newbury* published in 1597. See Child, iii. 352, and *Thomas Deloney*, by Dr. Richard Sievers (Berlin, 1904), pp. 76, 182.

Depressed by the king's taunts, the earl answers that if he might have the men of Lancashire and Cheshire to command he would consent to be hanged if he did not burn up all Scotland, and conquer in France as far as Paris gate 'both comely castles and towers high.' The king says the men of those two counties are cowards, to which the earl answers, 'Who brought your father in at Milford Haven?' Matters are made worse by a yeoman of the king's guard, one of Derby's men, 'Long Jamie Garsed,' who, being taunted by his fellows with cowardice, 'sticked two and wounded three,' and is sentenced to be hanged for it. In the nick of time comes a second messenger, this time from the queen, contradicting the false message sent by the first:

> Lancashire and Cheshire, said the messenger,
> They have done the deed with their hand,
> Had not the Earl of Derby been true to thee
> In great adventure had been all England.

With this vindication and with the reward of some of the maligned gentlemen the ballad ends. Here we have an instance of a ballad invented entirely to explain certain facts,[1] a ballad which is as purely historical fiction as the ordinary historical novel. A truthful account of the battle would have been a glorification of the Howards rather than the Stanleys, since Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, his eldest son, Lord Thomas, the Admiral of England, and his third son, Lord Edmund, were the generals of the English army, and Sir Edward Stanley played quite a subordinate part. Skelton, in his 'Ballad of the Scottish King,' begins

[1] The King, says Hall, on receiving news of the victory, 'thanked God, and highly praysed the Earle and the Lord Admyrall and his sonne, and all the gentlemen and commons that were at that valiante enterpryse: howbeit the kynge had a secrete letter that the Cheshyre men fledde from Syr Edmond Howarde, whyche letter caused greate harteburnynge and many woordes, but the kyng thankefully accepted al thynge, and would no man to be dispraysed.' This is the story as given in Hall's 'Chronicle,' published in 1548 (ed. 1809, p. 564). 'The Chesshire and Lancasshire men never abode stroke, and fewe of the gentlemen of Yorkshire abode, but "fled," says a narrative amongst the *State Papers*.' These were the facts the ballad had to explain.

by jeering at 'King Jamy' and ends by praise of the Howards:[1]

> That noble Earl the White Lion
> Your pomp and pride hath laid adown;
> His son the Lord Admirall is full good,
> His sword hath bathed in the Scottes blood.

Skelton as Henry VIII.'s Poet Laureate is a tolerably impartial witness. If we had any of the ballads written by the Howards we should find the case put more strongly. As it happens, there is a ballad written in praise of the Lord Admiral, though it deals with a different incident in these wars with Scotland. In 1511 Sir Edward and Sir Thomas Howard captured two Scottish ships which had been preying upon English traders. This exploit is celebrated in the ballad of 'Sir Andrew Barton,' so entitled after the name of the Scottish commander, of which we have two versions, one a seventeenth century printed broadside, the other a sixteenth century version in 'Percy's MS.'[2] Probably Percy's version was written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, as it substitutes for the name of Thomas Howard that of Charles Howard, the Lord Howard of Effingham, who commanded the English fleet against the Armada. Its interest consists largely in its graphic representation of naval tactics. Barton relies upon close fighting, seeks to grapple and board the English ship, and hopes to achieve this by some primitive device designed for that purpose. At least so I read the warning which an English merchant gives Howard before the fight. Barton, he tells him, 'bears beams in his topcastle strong'; he will overcome you if he can let his beams fall down, therefore see you let no man go up to his topcastle while you are fighting. These instructions are carried out; a skilful bowman called

[1] *A Ballade of the Scottyshe Kynge*, written by John Skelton. Reproduced in facsimile, with an Introduction by John Ashton, London, 1882, p. 96. See also two other poems by the same author, viz. 'Skelton Laureate against the Scottes,' and 'Howe the douty Duke of Albany lyke a cowarde knyght ran away shamefully." Dyce's *Skelton*, i. 182; ii. 68.

[2] Child, iii. 334; Percy, iii. 399. *Naval Songs and Ballads* (Navy Records Society, 1908), pp. xiii., 6, 341.

Horsley shoots down every Scot who tries to climb the mast, including, at last, Sir Andrew himself, and so the victory is won. Now, however this particular battle may have been fought, it is certain that as late as the reign of Queen Elizabeth bows did play an important part in helping Englishmen to win sea-fights. As late as 1563 some Spanish merchantmen complained of being plundered by pirates in the Channel, and the evidence proving that they were English pirates was this: 'The mariners say plainly that they were Englishmen, for that they shot so many arrows they were not able to look out,' and therefore the Spaniards ran below and let their ship be plundered.[1] And the ballad plainly brings out the contrast between the archaic tactics of the Scots, who, like the Spaniards, loved close fighting, and the modern tactics of the English, who preferred to use missile weapons such as guns and bows.

Already, however, in Henry VIII.'s day the decay of English archery was beginning. Ascham, in his 'Toxophilus,' published in 1545, laments over the fact that new weapons were taking the place of the bow. 'Nature and use,' he said had made Englishmen most apt for using the long-bow. 'If I were of authority I would counsel all the gentlemen and yeomen of England not to change it with any other thing, how good soever it seem to be; but that still, according to the old wont of England, youth should use it for the most honest pastime in peace that men might handle it as a most sure weapon in war.'[2] Henry VIII. continually enjoined the use of the long-bow; he passed four statutes encouraging archery and five against cross-bows and hand-guns.

Henry's injunctions and prohibitions could not arrest the decadence. In time past, wrote Harrison in 1587, 'the chief force of England consisted in their long-bows. But now we have in a manner given over that kind of artillery.' Not only were there fewer archers, but a less excellent method of shooting had come in, a kind of archery which could 'never

[1] Froude, *History of England*, viii. 20.

[2] *English Works o Roger Ascham*, ed. Aldis Wright, p. xii.

yield any smart stroke,' so that French and German soldiers derided the new archery as much as they feared the old.

Now the strange thing is this, that just at the moment when this process of decay was beginning, the ballads in which the bow was glorified found their way into print. The two popular epics of archery belong to the early part of Henry VIII.'s reign, namely, 'The Gest of Robin Hood,'[1] a compilation of about 1800 lines put together from four or more older ballads, and the 'Ballad of Adam Bell,' which is nearly 700 lines long.[2] Robin Hood was printed by Wynken de Worde before 1534, Adam Bell by John Byddell about 1536. The heroes of both ballads are such great archers that they disdain to shoot at ordinary butts, and use a hazel wand for a mark:

> I hold him never a good archer
> That shooteth at butts so wide,

says Adam's companion, William of Cloudesley, and fixes a couple of wands in the ground 400 paces apart. Like William Tell, Cloudesley cleaves with his arrow an apple set on his son's head at a distance of six score paces.

Though these good archers are all outlaws they have one common characteristic. All are religious, even devout, men, especially Robin Hood:

> A good manner had Robin
> In londe where that he were:
> Every day or he would dine
> Three masses he would hear.
> The one in worship of the Father,
> The other of the Holy Ghost,
> The other of our dear Lady,
> That he loved all the most.

[1] Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, iii. 39, reprints this, and supplements it by the best accessible collection of later Robin Hood ballads.

[2] For the various texts of Adam Bell, see Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, iii. 14. The earliest printed version extant appears to have been published in 1536, but only a fragment of it has survived.

Robin loved our dear Lady;
For doubt of deadly sin
Would he never do company any harm
That any woman was in.[1]

When he was an outlaw dwelling in the forest his enforced absence from the great feasts of the Church weighed heavy on his mind:

'Yea, one thing grieves me,' said Robin,
'And does my heart much woe,
That I may not no solemn day
To mass nor matins go.'[2]

It is because he insists on attending one of these festivals at Nottingham that he is betrayed into the hands of his enemy the sheriff. In the last stage of his life, when he has made his peace and dwells in honour at the king's court, it is in order to go upon a pilgrimage that he leaves it:

I made a chapel in Bernysdale,
That seemly is to see,
It is of Mary Magdalene,
And thereto would I be.[3]

Barefooted and clad in a sheepskin he must set forth thither to pay his vow. Just in the same way William of Cloudesley and his two companions when they are received into grace by the king will not take up the places offered them in the royal household till they have made a pilgrimage to Rome, to be assoiled by the Pope's own hand of all the sins they have committed.[4]

All this reflects the spirit, not of the time when the ballads were printed, but of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, when they were composed, when England was still Catholic and Lutheranism was unborn. This characteristic did not escape the seventeenth-century continuators and imitators

[1] Child, iii. 57.

[2] 'Robin Hood and the Monk,' Child, iii. 97. From a Manuscript of about 1450.

[3] Child, iii. 77.

[4] Child, iii. 30.

of the Robin Hood ballads. One of them, Martin Parker, thinks it necessary to comment on the unsatisfactory nature of Robin's views about justification by works as being one of the few faults of his character :

With wealth which he by robbery got
Eight almshouses he built,
Thinking thereby to purge the blot
Of blood that he had spilt.
Such was their blind devotion then
Depending on their works,
Which if 'twere true, we Christian men
Inferior were to Turks.[1]

On the other hand, while Robin and the other outlaws are religious they are anti-clerical. When Robin's men go forth on an expedition they ask their master whom they shall attack. 'Look that you harm no husbandman, and no good yeoman, and no knight or squire that will be a good fellow. Assault only the clergy and the lawyers :

These bishops and these archbishops
Ye shall them beat and bind ;
The High Sheriff of Nottingham
Him hold ye in your mind.[2]

When the outlaws meet a rich abbot with his train of monks, or rather the king disguised as an abbot, they look on him as their legitimate prey. Courteously they bid him light down from his mule, and say :

We be yeoman of this forest
Under the greenwood tree ;
We live by our kinges deer,
Other shift have not we ;
And ye have churches and rentes both
And gold full great plentie,
Give us some of your spending
For St. Charitye.[3]

[1] 'A True Tale of Robin Hood,' 1632 ; Child, iii. 230.

[2] 'A Gest of Robin Hood,' Child, iii. 57.

[3] *Ibid.* iii. 74. The anti-clerical side is emphasised in seventeenth-century ballads such as 'Robin Hood and the Bishop,' and 'Robin Hood's Golden Prize,' Child, iii. 191, 193, 208 ; *Roxburghe Ballads*, ii. 449 ; viii. 509.

This envy of the wealth of the clergy, and the discontent with the existing social system, which are so plainly revealed in the Robin Hood ballads, were a part of the legacy bequeathed by the fifteenth to the sixteenth century. The same feelings reappear, more violent in expression and more various in shape, in the collection of 'Ballads from Manuscript,' written during the early part of the sixteenth century, which Dr. Furnivall has edited for the Ballad Society. What the evils were which afflicted English society, and were slowly undermining the fabric of the commonwealth, is set forth in that wonderful discourse which Sir Thomas More prefixed to his vision of a perfect state. On the one side, poverty and discontent amongst peasantry and yeomen from end to end of England, raising of rents, enclosure of commons, turning of corn land into pasture, a multitude of beggars and thieves kept under by inhuman laws; on the other side were abbots and noblemen, like 'covetous and insatiable cormorants,' plucking down villages, and driving out the husbandmen in order to find larger pastures for their sheep. Over these evils and their remedies that much-travelled sailor, Raphael Hythloday, and the layman learned in the law, had talked at Cardinal Morton's table, in the house where Sir Thomas More was brought up.

The manuscript collection of ballads I have referred to reiterates all these complaints. 'Envy,' says one of them, entitled 'Nowadays':

> Envy waxeth wondrous strong,
> The rich doth the poor wrong,
> God of his mercy suffereth long
> The devil his works to work.
> The towns go down, the land decays,
> Great men maketh nowadays
> A sheepcote in a church.

The unusual discontent caused by these real social evils broke out at first in one manifestation then in another. At one time it turned against the foreign merchants, who were

charged with impoverishing the realm. 'Aliens,' says the ballad,

> Have here their way,
> And Englishmen clean decay ;
> Other lands advanced be
> And buy and sell amongst us free,
> And thus our own commodity
> Doth clean undo ourself.[1]

So there came in 1517 the rising of the London 'prentices and craftsmen against French and Flemish and Italian merchants, known from the severity of its punishment as 'Ill May Day.'[2]

In 1525 discontent took the shape of a rising against the forced loan imposed by the king, not so much for constitutional reasons as on account of the crushing burden of taxation. In Suffolk the working population rose in a body and threatened the tax-collectors with death. When the Duke of Norfolk asked the assembly for their captain that he might set forth their grievances, an old man rose up to answer him. 'My Lord,' said he, 'since you ask who is our captain forsooth, his name is Poverty, for he and his cousin Necessity hath brought us to this doing.' The king yielded to the opposition and withdrew his demand. There was an end of the forced loan, but 'not an end,' says the chronicler, 'of inward grudge and hatred which the commons bore' to Cardinal Wolsey.

All these discontents swelled the cry against the king's all-powerful minister. If we want a picture of Wolsey at the height of his power we must go to the professional satirists rather than the ballad-makers, to John Skelton and William Roy rather than the nameless minstrels. Skelton pictures the Cardinal's pride. We see him 'in the Chamber of Stars' presiding over the Council like a schoolmaster over his class,

> Clapping his rod on the board,
> No man dare speak a word.

[1] *Ballads from MSS.* i. 97.

[2] 'The Story of Ill May Day' was the subject of a later ballad reprinted in Johnson's *Crown Garland of Golden Roses*, part ii. p. 39 (Percy Society, 1845), and in *A Collection of Old Ballads*, 1738, iii. 54.

He tells the lords their wits are dull; 'they have no brain their estate to maintain'; the judges that they understand nothing about law; and all tremble like sheep before him.[1] Roy pictures Wolsey's pomp; he appears in public 'more like a god celestial than any creature mortal.' Two priests bearing crosses go before him, gaping in every man's face; two laymen follow bearing long pillars of silver. Then comes my Lord Cardinal himself on a mule with golden trappings:—

A great carle he is, and a fat,
Wearing on his head a red hat,
Procured with angels subsidy,
And as they say, in time of rain
Four of his gentlemen are fain
To hold over it a canopy.

On his feet, too sacred to touch the ground, he wears shoes decked with gold and precious stones costing many thousand pounds.[2]

The contrast between Wolsey's pomp and pride and the lowness of his birth sharpens the indignation of both satirists. Skelton calls him 'the butcher's dog'; Roy, 'the mastiff cur bred in Ipswich town.' They taunt him with 'his base progeny' and 'his greasy genealogy.' The ballad-makers echo these invectives with less literary skill but equal virulence, and warn him of his approaching fate.

'Thomas, Thomas,' says a ballad written about 1527,[3]

Remember one Thomas of Canterbury,
Which made all England glad and merry,
And thou hast made it sad.
Him men do worship with prayers and light,
Thee people do curse both day and night,
This is the common voice.
With abbeys good thy college thou buildest,
With poor men's good thy palace thou gildest,
How canst thou thus rejoice?

[1] See 'Why Come ye Nat to Courte,' Dyce's *Skelton*, ii. 26, 32, 42.

[2] Roy's 'Rede Me and be nott Wrothe,' reprinted in *Harleian Miscellany*, ed. Park, ix. p. 30.

[3] Furnivall, *Ballads from MSS.* i. 352.

'Remember the falls of Lucifer, and Simon Magus; remember Mortimer and the Despensers and repent in time.'

When Wolsey fell the storm which had been so long gathering broke upon the Church. Roy's 'Rede me and be not Wroth' had embodied a comprehensive attack on Catholicism as well as on the Cardinal. The feeling which prompted it took shape in polemical dialogues and polemical plays,[1] in prose treatises satirical or serious, and, as was natural, in popular ballads. Minstrels who sang 'pestilent and abominable songs' were among the favourite instruments of the Reformers. Wolsey's successor knew their value. 'Lord Cromwell,' says Fox, 'seeking all means and ways to beat down false religion and to advance the true,' among others kept in his household 'divers fresh and quick wits' . . . 'by whose industry and ingenious labours divers excellent ballads and books were contrived and set abroad concerning the suppression of the pope and all Popish idolatry.' Among these one specially notable was 'The Fantasie of Idolatrie,' which contained in it 'as in a brief sum the great mass of idolatrous pilgrimages, for posterity hereafter to understand what then was used in England.'[2] Written evidently about the year 1538, when the rood of Boxley, and the image of Our Lady of Walsingham, and many other images once held sacred were publicly burnt in Smithfield or at Chelsea, the ballad was a savage cry of triumph over the work of destruction. The devotion men had paid them, said the ballad, was all delusion—feigned miracles and lies invented by the devil and his doctors to blind the people's eyes.

The Muses, however, were not all on one side. As early as 1526 a ballad was circulated against 'The Blaspheming

[1] See Professor Herford's *The Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 33–148.

[2] See Fox's *Martyrs*, ed. Townsend and Cattley, v. 403. The ballad was printed in the first edition of Fox's book but suppressed in the later ones. Its author was one William Gray, on whom see also *Ballads from MSS.* i. 414. See Maitland's *Essays on Subjects connected with the Reformation in England*, 1849, p. 237.

English Lutherans.' A poisonous dragon, it said, and his young serpents had infected England. Luther is his name, in Germany is his den:

> There he swelleth, he bloweth,
> He burneth, he gloweth,
> Against all true Christian men.[1]

Outraged Catholic feeling found vent in the rising of the North in 1536, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace. Local prejudices as well as religious motives fanned the revolt. The Northern people, said one ballad, in time long past hath been but little regarded of the austral nation, but now 'the southern heretics void of all virtue' should be overthrown. 'The faithful people of the boreal region' were champions chosen by Divine Providence to make reformation of the great mischief done by those who sought to overthrow Christ's law.[2] The banner under which the Northern army marched bore on it a representation of the five wounds of Christ.[3] 'Christ crucified,' ran their song,

> For thy woundes wide
> Us commons guide
> Which pilgrims be.

Holy Church, they complained, was 'stripped and spoiled and shorn, fast in bonds.' It was against God's laws, and would bring his vengeance on the realm. The poor commons must stand up to defend their abbeys, for no tongue could tell how they would miss their charity:

> For there they had
> Both ale and bread
> At time of need
> And succour great
> In all distress
> And heaviness.

[1] *Ballads from MSS.* i. 287.

[2] 'An Exhortacyon to the Nobylles and Commons of the Northe,' *Ballads from MSS.* i. 301.

[3] *Cf.* Froude, ii. 518.

All should go well again if the commons stood together for the cause of the Church:

God that rights all
Redress now shall
And what is thrall
Again make free
By this voyage
And Pilgrimage
Of young and sage
In our country.[1]

The wrath of the rebels was directed against the king's agents, not against the king. On the one hand they denounced Cranmer and the heretical English bishops, on the other Cromwell and his cursed company. Cromwell was the second Haman, and they promised that he should hang as high as the first. In the State Papers we get glimpses of the part which the wandering minstrels played, and fragments of their songs. A certain John Hogon was accused in 1537, after the insurrection had been suppressed, of going about the country singing seditious ballads. One of these was aimed at the Duke of Suffolk, Charles Brandon, and charged him with preventing the Lincolnshire men from joining their brethren in Yorkshire, and with promising the insurgents their pardon and failing to keep his word. The Duke of Suffolk might have made England Merry England again if he had been true. Like another nobleman, who declared that it 'was never merry in England since the new learning came up,' the minstrel attributed all the trouble to the progress of education:

The masters of Art and doctors of Divinity
Have brought this realm out of good unity.[2]

Another minstrel was either of different opinions or afraid of the Government. Master Alexander, as he was called, was making merry in a Westmoreland alehouse, when Isaac Dickson, one of the company, ordered him to sing a popular ballad against the king's minister, which he refused to do.

[1] *Eng. Hist. Review*, 1890, p. 344. [2] *Ballads from MSS.* i. 311.

Then, says the deposition, 'the said Isaac commanded the said minstrel again in a violent manner to sing the song called "Cromwell," and the said minstrel said he would sing none such; and then the said Isaac pulled the minstrel by the arm, and smote him on the head with the pummel of a dagger, and the same song the said minstrel would not sing to die for. . . . Then did Isaac call for a cup of ale, and bade the minstrel sing agáin, which he always denied; then Isaac took the minstrel by the beard and dashed the cup of ale in his face; also he drew his dagger and hurt Master William, being the host of the house, sore and grievously in the thigh, in rescuing the said minstrel.'[1]

Few men in England would have borne so much for Cromwell. In 1536 the Lincolnshire rebels caught one of Cromwell's servants, fastened him up in a bull's hide and baited him to death with dogs, using language which showed they would gladly have treated his master in the same way. The popular hatred to Cromwell never altered, and in June 1540 his fall was welcomed with universal joy. Bishop Percy's Manuscript contains a fragment of a traditional ballad on his fall.[2] A lady whom King Henry loved, apparently Catherine Howard, asked the king for a boon. The king granted it, 'if it be not touching my crown, and hurt not my poor commons.' 'It is the head of that false traitor, Thomas Cromwell,' said she. Then the king sent the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Earl of Derby to fetch Cromwell to him. Thomas had been wont to carry his head high, but when he came he hung it down to his knee. 'How now, Thomas?' said the king; 'how is it with thee?' But the traitor made no petition for mercy:

> 'Hanging and drawing, O king,' he said,
> 'You shall never get more from me.'

The ballad is not true history. As a matter of fact, the king had no personal interview with Cromwell after his arrest, and Cromwell wrote two letters to Henry imploring mercy in abject terms. But the facts had to be fitted to the popular

[1] Froude, iii. 53. [2] Child, iii. 377; Hales and Furnivall, i. 129.

conception of Cromwell's character, and dramatic effect required a meeting between the fallen minister and his master.

More interesting, because it does not attempt to relate what happened, but simply to express the feeling of the moment, is another ballad actually printed in 1540. It is entitled, 'A new Ballad made of Thomas Cromwel called "Trolle on away."'[1] 'Trolle on away' is the beginning of the chorus, and it continues with the refrain 'Heave and ho rumbelow,' so popular in sea-songs. Both man and child, it says, is glad to hear tell of that false traitor's overthrow. Then it addresses Cromwell himself, and taunts him with plundering the realm:

> When Fortune looked thee in thy face,
> Thou hadst fair time but lackedst grace,
> Thy coffers with gold thou filledst apace.
> Both plate and chalice came to thy fist,
> Thou lockedst them up where no man wist,
> Till in the King's treasure such things were missed.

Besides this, Cromwell had misled his virtuous and orthodox master, and misrepresented his master's intentions. 'His grace was ever of gentle nature,' and England hated Cromwell because he had been false to this 'redolent rose':

> Thou did not remember, false heretic,
> One God, one faith, one King Catholic,
> For thou hast been so long a schismatic.
> Thou wouldest not learn to know these three,
> But ever wast full of iniquitie,
> Wherefore all this land hath been troubled with thee.

Better for Cromwell if he had remained a woolcomber all his life instead of seeking to climb so high:

> Thou mightest have learned thy cloth to flock
> Upon thy greasy fuller's stock,
> Wherefore lay down thy head upon this block.
> Yet save that soul that God hath bought,
> And for thy carcase care thou nought;
> Let it suffer pain as it hath wrought.

[1] Printed in *Percy's Reliques* (p. 308 in Arnold Schröer's edition).

This was answered in another ballad telling the author that he was to blame for railing against dead men, and led to a controversy in which some nine ballads were published.[1]

Were it not for this ballad controversy one might say that Thomas Cromwell fell unpitied and unlamented, and that it was not till the reign of Queen Elizabeth that he came to be regarded as a Protestant hero rather than a tyrant.[2] His great work was the destruction of the monastic houses, and the generation which witnessed their destruction had doubts about the advantage of that work. It was not, in many cases, that they regretted the monks, but that the squandering of so much wealth, the destruction of so many splendid buildings, and the character of the men into whose hands they passed caused some searchings of heart. Some of these find expression in the verse of the reign of Elizabeth. 'The abbeys,' wrote a poet called Stephen Batman, 'went down because of their pride,'

> And made the more covetous rich for a time.

The goods that were given for good intent are plundered,

> But what shall become of those that be gay
> In the goods of the clergy flaunting about?

They shall lose, he prophesies, their stolen buildings and lands; though 'they think that to heaven they shall go for their brags,' yet their houses of pomp shall not save them.[3]

In 1754, when Dr. Johnson was at Oxford, he and Thomas Warton, during one of the walks they took in the neighbourhood, viewed the ruins of the abbeys of Oseney and Rewley. 'After at least half an hour's silence,' writes Warton, 'Johnson said: "I viewed them with indignation."'

[1] They are preserved in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries (Lemon's *Catalogue of Broadsides*, pp. 2–5). Facsimiles of all the nine are given in Mr. J. A. Kingdon's *Incidents in the Lives of Thomas Poyntz and Richard Grafton*, 1895, p. 84.

[2] See Schelling, *Chronicle Plays*, p. 215, the play entitled *The History of the Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell*, published in 1602, and Drayton's poem entitled 'The Legend of Great Cromwell.'

[3] *Ballads from MSS.* i. 292.

Similarly, when Johnson was in Scotland, Boswell records that he viewed the ruins of St. Andrews 'with strong indignation.' 'I happened to ask,' says Boswell, 'where John Knox was buried. Dr. Johnson burst out: "I hope in the highway. I have been looking at his reformations."'[1]

If this was the effect of the sight of the ruins two hundred years later on a man who had no particular sympathy for the form of religious faith they represented, imagine the feelings which that sight produced upon men attached to the old faith, who would remember when the ruins had been houses of prayer instead of solitary heaps of stone—'bare, ruined choirs where late the sweet birds sang.' There is a ballad on the ruins of the abbey of Walsingham, written apparently in Elizabeth's reign, which expresses these feelings:[2]

In the wrackes of Walsingam
Whom should I chuse
But the Queen of Walsingam,
To be guide to my muse?
Then thou Prince of Walsingam
Graunt me to frame
Bitter plaints to rewe thy wronge,
Bitter wo for thy name.

Bitter was it, oh! to see
The seely sheepe
Murdred by the raueninge wolues
While the sheephardes did sleep!
Bitter was it, oh! to vewe
The sacred vyne,
Whiles the gardiners plaied all close,
Rooted up by the swine.

Bitter, bitter, oh! to behould
The grasse to growe
Where the walles of Walsingam
So statly did sheue.

[1] Hill's *Boswell*, i. 273.

[2] Earl of Arundel MS. among Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian. Printed by Hales and Furnivall, iii. 470.

Such were the workes of Walsingam
While shee did stand !
Such are the wrackes as now do shewe
Of that holy land !

Levell, Levell with the ground
The towres doe lye,
Which with their golden glitteringe tops
Pearsed once to the skye !
Wher weare gates, no gates ar nowe ;
The waies vnknowen
Wher the presse of peares did passe,
While her fame far was blowen.
Oules do scrike wher the sweetest himnes
Lately weer songe ;
Toades and serpentes hold ther dennes
Wher the Palmers did thronge.

Weepe, weepe, o Walsingam !
Whose dayes are nightes,
Blessinge turned to blasphemies,
Holy deedes to dispites !
Sinne is wher our Ladie sate,
Heauen turned is to hell !
Sathan sittes wher our Lord did swaye.
Walsingham, oh ! farewell !

The feeling which this poem on Walsingham expresses was so widespread that a very popular ballad writer of the later part of the sixteenth century composed a ballad on purpose to prove that this regret was foolish, and that the work of Henry VIII. and Thomas Cromwell was wise and just. He put it in the form of a dialogue between Plain Truth and Blind Ignorance[1]—Ignorance being embodied in the shape of an old countryman who talks the dialect of Somersetshire, and Plain Truth being represented by an

[1] 'A pleasant song between Plain Truth and Blind Ignorance,' Deloney's *Garland of Goodwill*, Percy Society, 1851, p. 89. The ballad appears to have been first published in 1588. Arber, *Stationers' Register*, ii. 227.

enlightened dweller in towns. Ignorance is caught contemplating the ruins of an abbey. 'Why,' says Truth,

Why keep up such a gazing
On this decayed place,
The which for superstition
Good princes down did raze?

It was once a goodly abbey, says the old countryman, and I remember seeing it full of holy friars. I tell you, father, answers the other, those friars were great hypocrites deceiving the simple with lies. The old man does not reply directly to this argument: he prefers, he says, the Psalter to the Bible, and admits that he did not understand the Latin prayers, but he liked the service:

The noise was passing trim
To hear the friars singing
As we did enter in,

and the rood-loft 'bravely set with saints' was a fine sight. Moses, replies the other, spoiled the golden calf, Baal's priests were brought to confusion, and the friars deserved their fate. All this rather fails to convince the old countryman. He declines theological controversy: his argument is that the world went very well then, and that times are hard now:

When that we had the old law
A merry world was then.
And everything was plenty
Amongst all sorts of men.
I tell thee what, good fellow,
Before the friars went hence
A bushel of the best wheat
Was sold for fourteen pence,
And forty eggs a penny
Which were both good and new,
And this I say myself have seen
And yet I am no Jew.

The dialogue ends like all polemical dialogues, in the crushing defeat of the man of straw. Blind Ignorance avows

himself convinced, and renounces 'the subtle papists' and all their works. Yet there was something in his argument of real historical significance. The sentimental regret for the fall of the old order was strengthened by a well-grounded belief that the economic evils of the new order were partly due to the wasteful and unnecessary destructiveness with which the changes of the Reformation had been effected.

It is somewhat curious to note how little King Henry VIII. himself appears in the ballads written during his reign. He is introduced, as we have seen, in 'Flodden Field,' also in the beginning of 'Sir Andrew Barton,' and in the ballad on the fall of Cromwell, but he is nowhere made the leading figure in the story. It is easy to understand the absence of hostile ballads. Henry VIII. was extremely sensitive to attacks on his policy, and would have punished severely the author who wrote one or the minstrel who sung it. We know that such ballads were circulated in Scotland, and that Henry, through the President of the Council of the North and the Wardens of the Marches, complained to James V. of their circulation. James V. promised to suppress them, adding that since he had never heard of such things before he suspected them to be imagined and devised not by Scots, but by Englishmen and subjects of Henry VIII. himself.[1] But though James prohibited the Scots from reading or publishing such 'unhonest, displeasant, and despiteful ballads, rhymes, and makings,' yet a year later Sir Thomas Wharton, Warden of the West Marches, complained of 'a ballad lately made in Scotland of great derision against all Englishmen for our living in the true Christian faith, which they take to be the contrary.' Wharton stated 'it goeth much abroad, and, as I am also informed, the bishops are the setters forth thereof.'[2]

The ballads which created these international difficulties seem to have perished. The survival of the productions of the professional ballad-makers of Queen Elizabeth's time

[1] See Ellis, *Original Letters*, series i. vol. ii. p. 103; and *Letters and Papers Henry VIII.* vol. xiv. part i. pp. 54, 62, 63, 92, 96, 166.

[2] Leonard Howard, *A Collection of Letters*, 1753, p. 169.

is a poor compensation, yet they too have their value as embodying traditional or popular impressions about events and persons. Ulpian Fulwell published in 1575 a tract, half prose, half verse, called 'The Flower of Fame,' and 'containing the bright renown and most fortunate reign of King Henry the Eighth.'[1] In it there are verses on the defeats of James IV. and James V., on the winning of Terouenne and Boulogne, and 'a manifest description of King Henry's noble virtues.' He is styled:

A Solomon for godly wit,
  A Solon for his constant mind;
A Samson when he list to hit
  The fury of his foes unkind.

In 1612 appeared Richard Johnson's collection of historical ballads called 'A Crown Garland of Golden Roses.' It begins with 'A Princely Song made of the Red Rose and the White royally united together by King Henry VII. and Elizabeth Plantagenet,' celebrating the sons and daughters of Henry VII. as well as that king. In later editions there were added the 'Story of Ill May-Day,' and 'The Princely Song of the Six Queens that were married to Henry the Eighth.'[2]

Six royal Queens you see,
  Gallant dames! gallant dames!
At command married he
  Like a great monarch.
Yet lives his famous name
Without spot or defame;
From royal kings he came,
  Whom all the world feared.[3]

Catherine of Aragon in these later ballads was pitied and praised. She was represented as a gracious and kindly figure. In one of the Robin Hood ballads she obtains the pardon of the outlaw from the king.[4] In the 'Story of Ill

[1] *Harleian Miscellany*, ed. Park, ix. 337.
[2] *The Crown Garland*, edited by W. Chappell, Percy Society, 1842.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 60. [4] Hales and Furnivall, *Percy MS.* i. 37; Child, iii. 195.

May-Day' it is her intercession which saves the lives of the guilty apprentices of London.

> 'What if,' quoth she, 'by Spanish blood
> Have London's stately streets been wet,
> Yet will I seek this country's good,
> And pardon for these young men get.' [1]

Anne Boleyn was more difficult to treat, at all events while her daughter was reigning. From Ulpian Fulwell's 'Commemoration' and 'Epitaph' one gathers that Anne was a model of all the virtues, and died peacefully in her bed.[2] Richard Johnson, writing in the reign of James I., could be more frank. After three years, he says,

> In the King's royal head
> Secret displeasure bred
> Which cost the Queen her head.[3]

There is one remarkable ballad, written apparently about the time of Anne's fall, which shows she did not die unpitied. When she was crowned poets had celebrated her under the similitude of a white falcon (it being her device), which descended from a cloud to settle upon a rose.[4] When she fell it was as 'a falcon fair of flight' that she was represented in the lament which Dr. Furnivall styles 'Anne Boleyn's Fortune.' Its keynote is the slipperiness of Fortune. Anne is humble and resigned to her fate: she is not guiltless, but penitent. According to the poet:

> Consider you all, though she wilfully did offend,
> Consider you also how she made her end:
> It is not we that can her amend
> By judging her fortune.
>
> Let us pray to God, of His mercy and bliss,
> Her to forgive where she hath done amiss,
> That He may be hers, and she may be His,
> And send us good fortune.[5]

[1] *Crown Garland*, p. 42.
[2] *Harleian Miscellany*, ix. 365.
[3] *Crown Garland*.
[4] *Ballads from MSS.*, i. 390.
[5] *Ballads from MSS.*, i. 409, 413. The quotation is modernised.

Only one of the later consorts of Henry VIII. appears to have attracted ballad-makers, and that was Jane Seymour.[1] As the mother of Edward VI. his popularity was reflected back upon her. Richard Johnson included in his 'Crown Garland' a prosaic lament on 'The Woeful Death of Queen Jane,' but there are no less than nine versions of a very popular traditional ballad recording the death and the funeral of the queen and the birth of her son. Some of them have been orally handed down for generations, and are still recited to-day.[2]

DISCUSSION.

Dr. Furnivall said that he was long ago convinced of the importance of fifteenth and sixteenth century English ballads as an historical source, and this conviction had been strengthened by his experience of their value as published texts. He agreed with Professor Firth that this source should be fully utilised by historians, especially in connection with the social history of this country.

Dr. Gairdner, referring to the political significance of certain ballads of the period, observed that in addition to the information that we already possess regarding their authorship and local associations, further information would be desirable as to their political *provenance.* One would like to know, for instance, if they were written to order, and by whom the bard was remunerated. They are none the less valuable when we recognise their partisan character; but details multiplied not infrequently in later editions. 'Lady Bessy' and some other ballads show a confusion of historical events; yet they contain vivid pictures of the times. Some even furnish interesting details, as in the case of the ballad of 'Flodden Field.'

Mr. Malden gave as an instance of information not found in the chroniclers the allusion in the ballad of 'Bosworth Field' to the number of pieces of artillery employed. It is noticeable that though this ballad was written in the Stanley interest, sympathy is shown

[1] Perhaps Catherine Parr should be excepted. See *Harleian Miscellany*, ix. 366; *Crown Garland*, p. 60.

[2] All nine are reprinted by Child, iii. 372, v. 245; *Crown Garland*, p. 29. Fulwell is so vague that it is impossible to make out whether he is lamenting Jane Grey or Jane Seymour. *Harleian Miscellany*, ix. 366.

for the fate of Richard III. Possibly Shakespeare derived his well-known line—

A horse, a horse, my kingdom for a horse!

from this ballad. In the ballad of 'Flodden Field' the account of Lord Maxwell's defeat at Millfield is interesting. So, too, is the evidence afforded of the strength of feudal attachment existing in the north of England.

Professor Pollard, referring to the allegation that the Stanleys kept a 'tame bard,' reminded the meeting of this family's well-known patronage of letters and the drama in later times. Wolsey's disturbance of the wool trade in 1528 through his Spanish policy was undoubtedly the cause of great distress, and the unpopularity of the Cardinal was largely due to this policy. The long-bow was regarded by some as the true national weapon as late as the end of the sixteenth century, and its disuse was regarded equally as a sign of national decay.

THE RISE OF GAIUS JULIUS CAESAR, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF HIS EARLY FRIENDS, ENEMIES, AND RIVALS

By Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., *Hon. V.-P.*

Read December 21, 1907

PART II

IN my previous paper I brought the story of Caesar down to the year when he returned home from the East after Sulla's death, and started a new double career—first as one of the college of pontiffs, and secondly as a tribune; the fact of his having had both a religious and secular status at this time no doubt greatly extended his influence and increased the number of useful people with whom he had personal ties. His appointment as a pontiff on the death of his maternal uncle was due, no doubt, to the antecedents of his mother's family, whose ancestral connection with priestly functions he inherited. The Aurelian 'gens,' which was plebeian in status, according to Festus professed to derive their family name from their sacerdotal duties, and particularly from the worship of the sun, which in the Sabine language was called 'ausel,' a word related to the 'ozul' of the Salian hymns and the Etruscan 'Uzil,' the god of light.[1] Festus argues that the Aurelii were at first called Auselii, like the Valerii and Papinii were respectively called Valesii and Papisii.[2] It further seems to follow from these facts that Caesar, on his mother's side, belonged to a Sabine stock.

[1] Bergk, *De Carm. Saliar. relig.* p. iv. By an unaccountable aberration I gave this reference to Festus in my previous paper (page 54, note 2).

[2] See Preller, *Römische Myth.* p. 287, and Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, i. 234 and 235.

At this time the number of pontifices was fifteen. It was raised to that number by Sulla, having previously been eight, or perhaps nine. They formed two classes ; the original ones were called *pontifices maiores* and the newer ones *pontifices minores*. The same dictator restored to the Pontifical College its ancient right of filling up vacancies in its body by co-optation. Plebeians as well as patricians were admissible to its ranks. The pontiffs took precedence of all magistrates, and superintended all the external worship of the gods, and presided at all games of the circus, amphitheatre, and theatre, which were celebrated in honour of some deity. They had various functions. Niebuhr thus sums them up: 'In everything appertaining to the liturgy, in the public, gentilician, and private worship of the gods they were the interpreters of the law and the judges according to books which they alone possessed ; upon their sentence it depended whether an action with which religious solemnities were connected was valid or not, and whatever concerned the *res sacrae*, *sanctae*, and *religiosae* belonged to their forum exclusively ; from their punishments there was no appeal.' They had the especial knowledge as to lucky and unlucky days, *dies fasti et nefasti*, and thus fixed the days and times for holding the public courts and assemblies, and prepared and had the custody of the calendars. It was they who exhibited in the Forum the secular lists pointing out what could legally be done on each day, which was painted on a wooden tablet covered with gypsum. These lists answered to the calendar of feast and fast days among the Roman Catholics. The edicts of the pontiffs were known as *leges regiae*.

The pontiffs, again, had the custody of the State archives, known as the 'Commentarii' and 'Libri Pontificum,' which they prepared and in which were recorded the chief events of the year as seen through official eyes ; as well as the official roll of the magistrates and great officers, and in addition various legal and religious precedents and regulations. Thus, as Sir George C. Lewis says, their books are quoted *inter alia* in reference to the description of victims proper to be sacrificed

on certain occasions, and the holidays on which water could be turned upon a meadow, or the rule that the bodies of persons who hanged themselves were not to be buried.[1]

They wore the *praetexta*, or robe with a purple hem, and were entitled to the same equipages and retinue as the great magistrates. It is clear, therefore, that when Caesar was admitted to the Pontifical College it was to a position of very high prestige and consequence, in which the most intimate and sacred functions of the State were exercised.

His position as Tribune was one of equivalent or perhaps greater actual power.[2] It had been shorn of some of its effective influence by the legislation of Sulla. The chief

[1] *Cred. of Early Rom. Hist.* i. 169 and 170.

[2] There is considerable ambiguity in regard to it, and I venture to think the old authorities have made a mistake which has been followed by all modern historians. Caesar's two biographers, Plutarch and Suetonius, tell us that he was *elected a military Tribune*. Of the military Tribunes, twenty-four, being the Tribunes of the first four legions, were elected by the people; the rest were appointed by the consuls or dictators who commanded the armies. These elected officers were known as *Tribuni Comitiales*. As Polybius tells us, they were picked soldiers, and had to be qualified by a certain amount of distinguished service. They formed a kind of staff to the army, and were ranked among the *magistrati* (see the *lex Acilia de repetundis*, *C.I.L.* i. 198 *passim*), and wore a gold ring. That a young man who had virtually seen no service like Caesar should have been elected to a post like this seems incredible. It is equally incredible if he had been so that when his country was in such great military stress as that involved in the threefold campaigns of the Spanish, the Mithridatic and the Slave War (especially the last, when the supply of officers ran short), Caesar should have taken no part whatever in them, for no one ever accused him of being lax in his duties or of shirking them. There seems, therefore, an insuperable objection to the notion, generally accepted, that Caesar was elected a military Tribune, and very strong reason for supposing that both Plutarch and Suetonius were mistaken in so calling him, and it would seem that what he was in fact elected to was the College of Tribunes of the people, whose functions were entirely civil and not military. This is made almost certain when we turn to Suetonius, who, having said that Caesar was elected a military Tribune, proceeds to say that he utilised the position to help with all his power those who desired to restore the Tribunitian power to the ancient status which Sulla had curtailed, and he supported the Plotian law under which his brother-in-law, Lucius Cinna, with the rest who had attached themselves to the cause of Lepidus in the recent troubles, and who after his death had joined Sertorius, were recalled, and he made a speech on the subject (*op. cit. Caesar*, ch. v.). This is surely quite inconsistent with the *rôle* of a military Tribune, and quite consistent with the duties and functions of a civilian one, which I hold Caesar now really became. This conclusion is not certain, but it seems to be a very probable solution of the difficulty.

privilege of the Tribunes, which was guarded with great tenacity, was personal inviolability, and their great function was the duty of intervening to prevent tyrannical licence and illegality. The Tribunes of the people were originally two in number, and known as *Tribuni plebis*. Sulla made them ten in number. They met and decided matters in a so-called *collegium*, having apparently a kind of foreman at their head. Their most effective influence was based on their right of vetoing and thereby annulling any official act of a magistrate, and of fining any one who contested that right. They had further the absolute prerogative of appealing to the people in order to submit new laws to the vote, or to impeach magistrates. This power was greatly limited by Sulla, but, as we shall see, was recovered again shortly after his time. Sulla had further tried to limit the possibilities of demagogic ambition by having it enacted that every one who had been a Tribune was in future disqualified from holding any higher office. This last enactment was cancelled after Sulla's death.

Inasmuch as the office of Tribune was not open to a patrician or optimate, any one who wished to become a candidate for it had to divest himself of his patrician rank and to become a plebeian. As we do not hear of Caesar's having gone through this process it strengthens the view that his branch of the family was considered to have only a plebeian status. It is clear that the combination of the positions of a tribune and a pontiff in his own person opened up for him very large opportunities of furthering any schemes of personal ambition he may at this time have formed. Before we proceed with his doings it will be well to turn aside shortly to trace the careers of some other notable personages who at this time made the Roman world bend a good deal to their dictation, and a knowledge of whose careers is absolutely indispensable if we are to understand that of Cæsar.

The most important of them was Cnaeus Pompey. He was born on September 29, B.C. 106, the same year as Cicero, and was thus six years older than Caesar. His public career of 40 years was a remarkable one, especially as he was not

originally endowed with either conspicuous rank or fortune, although his mother Lucilia was of senatorial rank (Vell. Pat. ii. 29). If he had not been subsequently overshadowed by the brilliant feats of his great competitor Caesar, and been eventually crushed by him, he would possibly have ranked as second only to Sulla in the galaxy of great men, who at this time made Rome so famous.

It has been the fashion of some historians, and notably of Mommsen, to underrate the gifts, character, and feats of Pompey. That fierce German champion of high feudal notions and autocratic theories loses his patience because Pompey, being loyal to the old theories of Roman citizenship, refused to grasp the crown when he might have seized it. He was cold, reserved, and unimpressive as a politician, but he had manly virtues, was a soldier of high capacity and successful in more than one difficult and trying campaign, was frugal and temperate, and eminently just and prudent as a politician, a fair speaker, honourable, trustworthy, free from the coarser elements of life, good-looking, and, like Caesar, attractive to women, although, as Niebuhr says, his busts give him a somewhat vulgar, plebeian look, very unlike the 'style' which distinguishes Caesar's head. He was, on the other hand, vain, ambitious, and jealous of rivals.

But, as my friend Mr. Warde Fowler says, his chief source of strength was that of all men then living of assured reputation and power he was the only one whose character was really respected and whom all parties would agree in trusting, and this was a reputation he never wholly lost.

His father, Cnaeus Pompey, an opponent of Marius, had distinguished himself in the Marsic war, and had been put to death by Cinna, Caesar's father-in-law, and his family house at Rome had been confiscated. He himself was living at his country house at Picenum when Sulla arrived in Italy. He raised a legion among his friends and neighbours and joined the great general when he was barely twenty-four years old, took part in the capture of Rome, and was afterwards sent with a force to pacify Sicily and Africa.

This he accomplished successfully, and was highly piqued when on his return the Senate called upon him to disband his army; they doubtless suspected another demagogic dictator in embryo. Sulla too may have thought the same when he hesitated to give him a triumph on the ground that that distinction had been reserved for those of Praetorian or Consular rank [1]; but the gay young soldier won the heart of the unconventional if terrible dictator by impertinently reminding him that the rising sun has usually more worshippers than the setting one. The triumph was allowed, and some African elephants which had belonged to the Numidian king were exhibited in it, while the hero of it was permitted to give himself the cognomen of Magnus, or the Great. This was in 81 B.C. Sulla, however, insisted on his putting away his wife, Antistia, and marrying his own stepdaughter, Aemilia, who was actually pregnant at the time and who died shortly after. This showed Pompey to be complacent enough in matrimonial matters, as most Romans in fact were, when their interests were involved, and it enhances our respect for Caesar under similar conditions. It is very much to his credit that during the proscriptions and confiscations at this time Pompey kept his hands clean from blood and plunder while others were amassing great fortunes. At the capture of Asculum during the Social War we are told he contented himself with securing only a few books and some hunting nets.

We next find him assisting to put down a notable insurrection. Aemilius Lepidus was a rich patrician and a former friend of Sulla, who, according to Pliny,[2] had the finest palace in Rome, which was decorated with columns of yellow Numidian marble, the first that had been seen there. He adds that 35 years later more than a hundred palaces surpassed that of Lepidus in magnificence. He had made a large fortune by his exactions in Sicily, and, like Crassus, by buying up the estates of proscribed people during the Sullan terror, and was a candidate for the Consulship in the year

[1] Plutarch, *Pompey*.

[2] *N. H.* xxxvi. 15, 109, 24, 4.

78 B.C. For some reason Sulla, who probably despised him and disliked his coquetting with the democratic party, opposed his candidature. Pompey, however, supported him. This [1] greatly displeased the Dictator, and the fact probably accounts for his having been the only one of Sulla's friends whom the latter omitted from his will. His support of Lepidus for the Consulship in 78 B.C. does not mean, as we shall see, that he in any way approved of his later actions. The slight put upon him by Sulla did not prevent Pompey from urging, against the wishes of Lepidus, that the great Dictator, who had been a kind friend and patron to him, should have a public funeral.

We next meet with Pompey as one of two generals selected to command the troops sent to oppose Lepidus, who, after laying down his Consulship, headed a rebellion in avowed support of the popular party, in whose name he demanded the revival of the public distribution of corn, the recall of the banished, and the restoration of the confiscated lands. He was supported by a considerable number of the democratic leaders. During this campaign Pompey put to death several of them, *ex. gr.* Marcus Junius Brutus, governor of Cisalpine Gaul, to whom he had promised his life, an act not worthy of him. He also killed a son of Lepidus and A. Scipio, apparently the Consul of 83 B.C., who had fled to Marseilles, both of whom were outlaws. This was probably in furtherance of the Roman theory that the one unpardonable crime was rebellion against the State ; or he may have intended by his harsh action, having supported Lepidus for the Consulship, to clear himself of all suspicion of being entangled in his rebellion. He now accompanied Catulus, who had inflicted several defeats on the chief rebel, and who went to Sardinia, to overwhelm the force which Lepidus had taken with him there. Lepidus died shortly after of vexation, not at his ill-fortune, but at learning of the unfaithfulness of his wife. He was the father of the famous Triumvir. On his return after this successful expedition, as Plutarch tells

[1] Cicero ii. 2 ; Verr. iii. 91.

us, Pompey found himself at the head of an army without employment, and when bidden to disband it, made various excuses for keeping it intact near Rome, and eventually pressed to be sent to the succour of Metellus, who was being driven hard in Spain by Sertorius. He at length got the command at the instance of Lucius Philippus. As he had filled no prominent office in the State, was only of Equestrian rank, and was still young, this was a very unusual promotion, and a senator asked bitterly if he was going out as a deputy for the Consul (*pro consule*). 'No,' said Philippus, 'as the substitute of both Consuls' (*pro consulibus*), thus avowing his contempt for them.

Quintus Sertorius was born at Nursia, a Sabine town in the Apennines. It is a singular fact, says Niebuhr, that the place preserved its freedom throughout the Middle Ages, and never lost it until the time of the French Revolution. Having lost his father early in life he was brought up by his mother, who gave him a liberal education, and to her he was much attached. Plutarch, to whose biography we are indebted for most of our information about him, tells us he had qualified himself to speak in a court of justice. He, however, followed the profession of arms, and possessed the qualities that make a hardy, resourceful, and competent soldier.

He began his career in 105 B.C. in fighting against the Cimbri, and was present at the great defeat of the Romans on the Rhone, where he was badly wounded. In the subsequent more successful campaign of Marius against the same enemies he showed great address as a spy, having disguised himself as a Gaul and learnt the language, and he received rewards in consequence from his chief. He afterwards took part in the war of Didius in Spain, and Plutarch reported how the inhabitants of Gyresoenia, in Castile, having surprised and slaughtered a number of Roman soldiers when carousing, he again showed his resource by causing his men to disguise themselves in the dress of a number of the citizens whom they had put to death. They then entered the town, and slaughtered a large number of the Spaniards; the rest

were sold as slaves. His fame now reached Rome, and on his return there he was appointed a quaestor in Cisalpine Gaul, and was employed in raising troops and providing arms.[1]

In one of his fights he had lost an eye, which makes Plutarch compare him with other famous one-eyed generals, Philip II. of Macedon, Antigonus, and Hannibal. He was recklessly brave, and when others put away their conspicuous ornaments in fighting he displayed his and thus became a popular hero, being received in the theatre with applause.

Presently he was a candidate for the Tribunate at Rome. He lost the election through Sulla's opposition, which was the cause, says his biographer, of his perpetual enmity for Sulla. He joined Cinna when the latter led the democrats to power again after Sulla's departure for the East, but he seems to have opposed the return of Marius, who had the art of making himself disliked by his former companions, and was proverbially jealous and treacherous to everybody who he thought stood in his way. Perhaps Sertorius might also have thought that the return of the old hero would diminish his own importance.

In the subsequent war against the aristocrats Sertorius commanded one of the three armies under Marius. Plutarch tells us that after the struggle he alone neither put a man to death to satisfy his revenge nor did he commit any outrage, and he presently used his forces to destroy the body of free-booters, 4,000 in number, whom Marius had employed as the instruments of his shameful atrocities.

On the death of Marius and the murder of Cinna, Sertorius opposed the appointment of the younger Marius as Consul as contrary to the laws of Rome, he being much under age, and finding that the officers who had been appointed to oppose Sulla were otherwise incompetent and that the cause he championed was virtually lost in Italy, he withdrew to Spain, where he had already been appointed praetor, hoping to secure that province as a refuge for his friends and allies.[2]

[1] Plutarch, *Sertorius*. [2] Plutarch, *op. cit.*

According to Julius Exsuperantius (ch. 8) he was actually sent there by the democratic leaders to take charge of Hither Spain, with orders to settle the affairs of Transalpine Gaul on the way. This was in 83–82 B.C. He had to pay black mail to the mountaineers for a safe passage over the Pyrenees, and having reached Spain, he found the people there numerous and warlike, but discontented with the Roman rule owing to the rapacity of former governors, and he took measures to gain the people's goodwill by his affability and by remitting taxes. One of his popular reforms consisted in wintering his troops in barracks or tents in the suburbs of the towns, instead of quartering them on the townsfolk. He also armed the Roman settlers in the country and with them garrisoned the passes of the Pyrenees, and began to build a fleet and to construct artillery machinery. This was probably in 82 B.C. Sulla sent an army against him under C. Annius Luscus. When it reached the Pyrenees Julius Livius Salinator, the deputy who commanded the forces on his behalf, was treacherously assassinated and his army melted away. Sertorius, finding it impossible to resist, retreated in 81 B.C. with 3,000 men to New Carthage (Cartagena), whence he passed into Africa. Eventually after several adventures, having heard from some sailors that out in the Atlantic there were some delightful fertile islands called the 'Fortunate,' which Plutarch describes as having a mild, salubrious climate and a fertile soil, and were doubtless either Madeira or the Canary Islands, he went thither with a body of Cilician pirates with whom he had made friends. Meanwhile the troops of C. Annius reconquered Spain and punished the Celtiberians, who had proved faithless to the Romans. Sertorius would gladly have lived on in the Happy islands, but his allies the pirates had other things in view and set off again for Africa. He presently followed them thither with what soldiers he had left and proceeded to attack Ascalis, the prince of Tingis (Tangier), whose people were in rebellion and who had been supported by Sulla. He defeated and besieged him in his capital. The

contingent of troops which was sent to the help of Ascalis by Sulla, passed over to Sertorius, after a defeat in which they lost their commander. The latter thus secured a useful addition of trained soldiers to his forces and speedily captured Tingis, where he conciliated the people by his usual humane policy. This was in 80 B.C. Plutarch tells us that on capturing Tingis, Sertorius opened the grave of the giant Antaeus there, and found a body sixty cubits long. Having offered sacrifices he closed it again. This tale may have arisen from the discovery of the remains of some fossil monster.

Meanwhile he received an invitation from the rebellious Lusitanians, who needed a competent commander to lead them against the Roman Eagles, and they knew none so fit as himself. He accordingly set out and was invested with full authority by his new friends, and speedily secured a large following.

Like so many of our Indian officers Sertorius had the art of conciliating and training men of other races, nor did he fail to use those methods of influencing them which were as effective then as now among the superstitious inhabitants of the Peninsula. *Inter alia* Plutarch tells us that a white fawn presented to him by a countryman became most tame and tractable and followed him about, and he persuaded the natives that through the intermediary of this fawn, Diana communicated counsel and good tidings to him in his difficulties, for which it was duly rewarded with crowns of flowers. According to Plutarch his forces at this time consisted of 2,600 so called Romans, of whom, however, 700 were Africans, with 4,000 light-armed Lusitanians and 700 horse.

By his rapidity and the exercise of every resource of a guerilla leader he won successes in all directions. He has been described as one of the greatest masters of stratagem of all time, and Frontinus gives numerous instances of his resourcefulness. Among other things (doubtless with the help of the pirates) he defeated Cotta's fleet in the Straits of Gibraltar, while he won success after success on land. He then proceeded to attack the propraetor Lucius Fufidius, a

devoted friend of Sulla, whom he defeated with a loss of 2,000 men on the Baetis, or Guadalquivir. The governor of the adjoining Ebro province, M. D. Calvinus, was summoned to the rescue, while a very capable veteran, Q. Metellus, was sent in 79 B.C. from Rome to superintend matters. The former's army was destroyed on the Guadiana and Calvinus himself killed by Sertorius's lieutenant, the quaestor L. Hirtuleius.

Orosius, following Livy, says that Lucius Manlius, the Roman proconsul in Transalpine Gaul, who was in command of three legions and 1,500 horse, now crossed the Pyrenees to help his colleague, but was also defeated by Hirtuleius, the quaestor of Sertorius, and lost all his baggage. He fled to Ilerda (the modern Lerida), whence he returned to his province after suffering further serious losses *en route* at the hands of the Aquitanians.

It was in vain that the methodical and rigid training of the Roman legionaries and the accepted tactical methods of their commanders, which were admirably suited to struggles in serried ranks, were employed in a mode of fighting where, as in South Africa recently, the enemy was elusive and seldom fought in the open. Napoleon's marshals found the same difficulties in meeting the later guerillas on the same ground. Nor were the difficulties of the commissariat felt in the same way by bands of warriors, who were always ill-fed and yet capable of extraordinary fatigue, as by his 'regulars.' Metellus himself, who was now a middle-aged man and prone to luxury, found himself much embarrassed. He entered Lusitania and laid siege to Langobriga, 'near the mouth of the Tagus.'[1] A body of his men was ambushed and destroyed, and the nimble Moors and Spaniards in the service of Sertorius managed to convey 2,000 skins of water, which was what the garrison most needed, into the town, and compelled the Romans to raise the siege while one of their generals, Thorius, was overwhelmed on the Guadiana with all his men.

[1] Mommsen, iv. 284.

Sertorius (as Mommsen has pointed out) always claimed that he was *de jure* a Roman general and the legal proconsul of Spain, whither he had been sent by the perfectly legitimate rulers of Rome when he left it. Consistently with this view he formed a Senate out of the Roman emigrants in Spain, which was to increase to 300 members and to conduct the affairs and nominate magistrates in the Roman fashion. Appian says that in scorn of the true Senate he called it *the Roman Senate*, while Plutarch says it was formed of actual Senators who had fled from Rome. Corneille describes this attitude in a fine line—

> Rome n'est plus dans Rome ; elle est toute où je suis.

From this body Sertorius selected his quaestors and generals, and he claimed that his intention was only to rescue the Romans from the tyranny of Sulla, and that he was always willing to return to Italy if he was assured of his safety there. The Spaniards, who obeyed him so completely, were, on the other hand, avowedly fighting for the independence of their country. By his affability and courteous demeanour he won the hearts of their nobles, who then, as now, were well-bred and chivalrous. According to their fashion and that of the Gauls a body of them, a thousand in number, and who were designated by a term answering to the English word 'devoted,' attended him and were ever ready to sacrifice their lives for him, and to accompany him to the other world whenever his end came. A story is told that on one occasion when his army was defeated near a city a number of them passed him from shoulder to shoulder, and having thus lifted him up on the wall, only then sought their own safety. Niebuhr says, with some probability, that among the most devoted followers of Sertorius were the children of Roman soldiers and Spanish mothers, who spoke both languages.

He brought together Spanish boys of high birth at a college which he founded at Osca (now Huesca, in Aragon), half-way from the Ebro to the Pyrenees, where they were

taught free of charge. They were dressed in the toga, like Romans. Mommsen points out that this was the first attempt to carry out the far-seeing plan of Gaius Gracchus and his party for gradually Romanising the provinces, not by extirpating the old inhabitants and replacing them by immigrants, but by Romanising the provincials. The boys were taught Greek and Latin, were frequently examined, and given prizes and the golden ornaments for the neck known as bullae to the Romans. They formed excellent hostages for their fathers' behaviour.

He flattered the love of display of his Spanish soldiers by training them in the Roman fashion and allowing them to have their helmets decorated with gold and silver, which metals were also used for ornamenting their shields, and he accustomed their leaders to the use of gowns with the purple border worn by the high-born Roman youths. On the other hand he exacted very rigid discipline from his men, and gave the excitable and impetuous natives some sharp lessons in regard to the dangers of breaking their ranks by allowing them to be severely punished by the enemy on more than one occasion.

He completely gained their affection and confidence, and became in effect the undisputed master of the whole community. Under such conditions no wonder the Roman colonists who were loyal to the Senate in Italy found it hard to hold their own, notwithstanding their numbers. Mommsen says that 'the masses which had been brought into the field against Sertorius were reckoned, including the Spanish levy, at 120,000 infantry, 2,000 archers and slingers, and 6,000 cavalry. Against this enormous superiority Sertorius had not only held his ground in a series of victories, but had reduced the greater part of Spain under his power. In the further provinces Metellus was confined to the districts immediately occupied by his troops, and all the tribes who could had taken the side of Sertorius. In the Hither province, after the victories of Hirtuleius, there no longer existed a Roman army.' His emissaries again roamed through

the territory of Narbonnese Gaul and Aquitania, and stirred up discontent, while on the surrounding seas, which were thronged with pirates, the corsairs were his allies, and he actually built a rendezvous for them at the promontory of Diana (now Denia, between Valencia and Alicante). Thence they raided the Roman merchantmen, while they conveyed supplies for his troops and kept up communications for him with his friends in Italy, who had invited him to go thither with his troops, and with Asia Minor. Such was the state of things at the death of Sulla in 78 B.C., and it was determined by the new men, who then took over the reins at Rome, to put an end to the intolerably tedious campaign, which was such a drain on the State's resources, by the appointment of a new and a younger commander. Accordingly, when the rebellion of Lepidus had been put down, as we have seen, Pompey, who, as Velleius Paterculus says, was at this time a simple *eques* only,[1] asked for the post, and, in fact, pressed for it. Contrary to Sulla's laws, he was duly given proconsular authority and the control of Hither Spain, and forty days later he was found in Gaul, at the head of 30,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry, where he had been deputed to settle some troubles among the tribes. This he did with Roman ruthlessness, and at length reached Spain in the autumn of 77 B.C.

Meanwhile Sertorius had been reinforced by a considerable force of trained Roman soldiers (Plutarch says they numbered fifty-three cohorts), who had taken part under Marcus Perperna in the insurrection of Lepidus, and who on the death of that leader in Sardinia made their way to Spain, and then compelled Perperna to join the forces of Sertorius. The latter now utilised Pompey's delay by capturing a number of the Spanish towns which still held out for the Romans, among them the strong fortress of Contrebia, south-east of Saragossa. Thus 'all Spain save the settlements on the coast which were guarded by the Roman fleet, and the districts of the Indigetes and Laletani, in the north-east

[1] *Op. cit.* ii. 30.

corner of the country, was controlled by Sertorius,'[1] and it was said he had designs to march on Rome itself.[2]

Pompey's usual fortune did not attend him at the beginning of the campaign. According to Appian, a whole legion of his army that had been sent out foraging was cut in pieces with its animals and servants,[3] and he failed to relieve Lauron (a town on the Xucar, south of Valencia), which had declared for him and was besieged by Sertorius. He was too confident, was outmanœuvred, and had the chagrin of being a witness with his men of the burning of the fortress, while Sertorius mockingly said he would teach this pupil of Sulla that a general should look behind as well as before him. This mishap caused a number of other towns to go over to the enemy. The older general however, Metellus, had better fortune, and perhaps deserved it better. He defeated Hirtuleius, the lieutenant of Sertorius, at Italica, near Seville, and forced him to withdraw to Lusitania, and presently Pompey beat Perperna. The victory enabled the forces of the two armies to unite, and they wintered together near the Pyrenees. In the spring they determined to attack their enemy at Valentia, but by different routes. Pompey, impatient to win the victory alone, and probably to efface the memory of Lauron, attacked his opponent on the river Sucro (the Xucar). The battle was fought in the evening. The wing commanded by Pompey in person was badly beaten, his richly caparisoned horse was captured, and he himself wounded. His other wing was successful and was engaged in looting the camp, when Sertorius returned and killed a great many of his men. The victory, however, was this time a barren one, for the arrival of Metellus with his troops saved the position, and Sertorius withdrew, according to Plutarch, uttering the jibe, 'If the old woman had not been here I would have flogged the boy with a rod and ferule and sent him back to Rome.' Plutarch tells us further that after the fight Pompey went to wait on Metellus, and ordered his lictors to lower their fasces as a compliment to him, but the latter would

[1] See Mommsen, iv. 293. [2] Appian, *C. W.* i. 108. [3] *Op. cit* i. 109.

not suffer it, nor, with the exception of claiming the command when they were encamped together, would he take advantage of his consular rank or greater age to claim any priority over his younger colleague, proving him to have been an attractive gentleman as well as a fine soldier.[1] The result of the battle was, however, depressing for the Spaniards, who had not been accustomed to victories of this kind, and the depression was enhanced by a bad omen—namely, the loss of his white hind by Sertorius. Its recovery and the artful way in which he utilised the incident presently restored their spirits to the Spaniards, many of whom had dispersed to their homes. With a great army he again ventured to face the Romans on the plains of Saguntum (Murviedro). A desperate struggle ensued, in which fortune for a while went to and fro. Metellus was wounded. Memmius, the brother-in-law and quaestor of Pompey, was killed, as were a great number of Romans, while Sertorius proved himself indomitable, as usual. Eventually the training and tenacity of the legionaries succeeded. The army of Sertorius again dispersed, and Valentia was taken and burnt. We are told that Metellus, much elated at this victory, styled himself Imperator, demanded crowns of gold from the towns, and paeans of victory from the local poets. He wore a triumphal robe at banquets, and a figure of Victory descended amidst theatrical thunder and placed a crown on his head, and when he went abroad incense was burnt, while to supply his table the purveyors went as far as Mauritania in search of hitherto unknown beasts and birds.[2] The depressed fortunes of the guerilla leader did not last long; a fresh army was got together by his partisans, which he speedily joined. Meanwhile an even more potent enemy had to be faced by the Romans than the great partisan leader. This was the difficulty, or almost impossibility, of provisioning their men in a country much of which was naturally so thirsty and hungry, and which was now devastated, while the supplies from Italy had been cut off by the piratical allies of Sertorius.

[1] See Plutarch, *Pompey*. [2] See Long, *op. cit.* ii. 472.

The Roman commanders withdrew into winter quarters—Metellus to Baetica (not to Gaul, as Plutarch says [1]), and Pompey first to Biscay, then to the country of the Vaccaei (Valladolid), his men suffering greatly from cold, hunger and perpetual fighting. Thence he wrote to the Senate imploring them to send him money with which to pay his soldiers, whose stipend was two years in arrear, and said he had already sacrificed his own fortune in the defence of Italy.

The war still dragged on in a tedious fashion, and we can understand the feelings at Rome by our own feelings as General Botha (another guerilla chief of capacity under similar conditions) flouted our armies, decimated our finest soldiers, and seemed always full of resource when things looked the worst. Italy was being called upon, in fact, for great sacrifices of blood and money to sustain a cruel and apparently a motiveless war, while Spain itself was being exhausted. To measure the feelings at Rome we must remember the load of troubles then menacing the State. The trade of the Mediterranean was being utterly ruined by piracy, Mithridates was carrying on a desperate war against the Republic in the East. Five Roman legions had been engaged for years in a desperate struggle in the Balkan country against the Dalmatians and Thracians. It was terminated for a while by the efforts of Marcus, a brother of Licinius Lucullus, who carried the Roman arms to the Euxine and the Danube. Meanwhile a most dangerous outbreak of slaves and gladiators in the very heart of Italy threatened the utter dissolution of the community, and a murrain which came from Egypt destroyed a large part of the cattle in Italy, causing a famine there. It led to some popular outbreaks, in which the consul Cotta, who had sneered at the stay-at-home idlers who should have been at the front with the armies was killed. At this juncture it was discovered that Mithridates, the Sultan of Pontus, and Sertorius, the leader of the revolt in Spain, or, as their friends styled them later, Pyrrhus and Hannibal, were corresponding, and had made

[1] See Duruy, *op. cit.* ii. 752, *note* 1.

a treaty by which the former was to be assured the possession of two dependent provinces of the empire, Bithynia and Cappadocia, with a body of troops under a competent commander, in return for which he was to send Sertorius forty ships and 3,000 talents (*i.e.* 720,000*l.*) The pirates were the intermediaries in these diplomatic negotiations, which constituted an undisguised and cynical alliance of the two leaders for the destruction of Rome.

Whatever excuses men may have made to condone the grievous wounds inflicted upon his country by one who claimed to be still a Roman, and even a Roman patriot, nothing could pardon an actual alliance with an avowed and powerful enemy of the State, who was then at death's grip with it. It meant a public crime of the highest gravity. He was accordingly and most justly declared an outlaw, and Metellus offered a reward of a hundred talents of silver and 20,000 acres of land to anyone who would take him, and added that if the man who did it were an exile he should be restored to his country. It is a curious proof of the crooked political vision of Plutarch, which has dominated the judgment of many historians about Sertorius, that he actually makes his treaty with Mithridates, a subject matter of adulation and quotes its terms as a proof of his magnanimity.

The long war was, however, gradually exhausting the resources of the Spanish champion. His army was only a militia kept together for a while by excitement and glory, but apt to melt away in bad times and often homesick. One old author compares it to an Alpine torrent at one time gorged with water and at another empty. He had suffered great losses among his most experienced officers and his cavalry was notoriously getting very weak. Meanwhile the appeals by Pompey for more efficient help, which had been warmly seconded by the consul Lucullus, at Rome, had been emphasised by the news of the dangerous alliance of Sertorius with the Pontic King, and were now listened to. Two fresh legions were sent to him, and with them supplies of money and grain, and it was with the same dogged

pertinacity that the two generals faced the next campaign of 74 B.C. and crossed the Ebro. Eastern Spain was already theirs as the result of the previous battles, and the struggle thenceforth became chiefly concentrated on the upper and middle Ebro, around the chief strongholds of the Sertorians, Calagurris, Osca and Ilerda.[1] Metellus began by defeating and killing Hirtuleius, the most skilful of Sertorius's generals. Frontinus tells us that the latter had the man who brought the news put to death for fear it should discourage his men.[2] One important stronghold after another now fell into the Roman hands. The next year the campaign followed the same course, and step by step the country was recovered by the Imperial forces. With his want of success the friends of Sertorius grew fewer, his men deserted and his allies grew cold, and he who had been so austere was now charged with over much feasting and extravagance by his late worshippers, and also with a devotion to wine and women.

The Roman emigrants whose cause he had professedly sustained grew weary too of his demands upon them and of his querulous complaints about them. They especially resented being accused of bad faith by him when they were actually helping him in a war against their own countrymen.[3] He began himself to be suspicious, displaced his Roman guard by Spaniards, and put to death those whom he suspected, and this without adequate trial, as his former master Marius had done. He even went to the length of killing or selling into slavery some of the high-born Spanish boys from his school at Osca, treating them probably as hostages who had forfeited their lives for some lapses of their fathers. This was a crime which even his unmeasured panegyrist Plutarch is constrained to describe as a great injustice and outrage. He says that it bore the mark of cruelty and revenge, but he excuses it on the ground that great and undeserved calamities cause humane dispositions to become soured. We cannot imagine Caesar, for instance,

[1] Mommsen, iv. 300. [2] *Stratag.* ii. 3, 5.
[3] Appian, *Civ. Wars*, i. 112.

acting in this fashion or making such an excuse if he did. It is clear that he had in fact made many enemies. Among the most bitter was a mean person whose social rank and wealth had been notable, and who, as we have seen, had been constrained by his own men to put himself under his command—namely, Perperna, the former colleague of Lepidus in his rebellion. He now conspired with others. They invited Sertorius to a feast, where they forced a quarrel upon him and stabbed him to death with their swords. The tragic details are told at full length in the fragments of Sallust, the loss of whose history of this campaign is deplorable, for it was doubtless the basis of all the other accounts. The faithful followers of Sertorius killed themselves at his funeral. Perperna then took command of the army, which resented his murder of their old commander, as especially did the Lusitanians, and he ruthlessly put to death several prominent men whom he suspected. Presently he offered battle to Pompey, but was routed and captured.

He then with uncommon treachery and meanness offered to show Pompey the correspondence which Sertorius was alleged to have carried on with men of consular rank at Rome, and in which the latter were supposed to be gravely compromised. Pompey promptly ordered the papers to be burnt without reading them or allowing them to be read and had Perperna put to death. The fact of this treacherous correspondence existing must not, however, be forgotten when we measure the inner policy of some of the Roman magnates at this time. All those who took part in the assassination, save one, perished violently by the Roman executioners, or by the Moors, to whom they had fled. One alone escaped, Aufidius, who lived on in Spain to an old age, poor and despised.[1]

Such was the end of a brilliant and singularly dramatic life, full of adventures, and proving Sertorius to have been a man of genius and of many resources and gifts, and yet one whom the historian has no business to single out as an example

[1] Plutarch, *Sertorius*.

and an ideal, but rather as one who used the greatest gifts to try and ruin his country, and was the cause of endless and needless human suffering.

The character and career of Sertorius have in fact been greatly misapprehended. A halo has been put about his head because he is supposed to have represented a forlorn struggle of the beaten democratic party during the dominion of Sulla and the oligarchs, and he has therefore been judged by transcendental rather that by those commonplace standards of probity which ought to be the ultimate measure of men in history.

It must be remembered that for nine years he was in active and open rebellion against his country and its legitimate rulers, and carried on a ceaseless civil warfare against them. In this, while he no doubt enlisted a considerable number of expatriated patriots, the main bulk of his supporters were Iberians and Celts, strangers and foreigners in speech and blood to the Romans, from whom he sprang, and who fought for him because he fought against Rome ; nor did he scruple to enter into an alliance with the Eastern autocrat, who was engaged in a desperate war against his own people in the East, and to make a treaty with him, by which Roman rights and Roman provinces were sacrified. He went even further and incited the barbarous Thracians, Aquitanians, and other barbarians against his countrymen. This was his avowed policy for years. It was a very different policy to that of Sulla, who when treated like a hunted outcast by those in power at Rome, and having to fight the battle of his country with few resources except those he made for himself, refused altogether to parley with Mithridates (who offered him his alliance) until he had withdrawn from Roman territory and ceased to threaten Roman rights. Under these conditions we can hardly claim Sertorius as a high-minded politician. He may have been an active and successful party leader and brilliant partisan, fighting for the ultimate victory of the Marian party, or he may have been simply thinking of his own interests or of paying off his own grievances. In either case he was not such a man as we mean by a patriot.

Again, when we measure his capacity, it is true that he kept up a prolonged struggle against the Roman armies in the Peninsula, and showed extraordinary dexterity and resource, but we must not forget that the Spaniards were all devoted to him, and he stood behind a united and very loyal fanatical race. To them he appeared not as a Roman party-leader but as a bitter enemy of their enemy Rome, who championed their nationality and fought their fight for them. They, in fact, called him the New Hannibal, and accordingly submitted to an iron discipline from him which they would have tolerated from no one else, and they were literally in the palm of his hand, as clay in the hands of the potter, ready to bear any hardship and to face any danger while he was their leader, On the other hand they were themselves unmatched in guerilla warfare.

Thirdly, the country in which the war was fought was and has always been the very ideal of a country in which a guerilla war may be endlessly prolonged—broken into fragments by almost impassable mountain chains, with bad roads, few towns, with for the most part a harsh stony soil, half covered with great forests and wastes, and with few provisions to be had in many parts. In our own day the greatest master of the soldier's art since Caesar, Napoleon, was entirely baffled by the Spanish guerillas, whom he never could subdue, and it required 300,000 picked French troops to garrison and keep Spain in subjection.

All these things must be thought of when we measure the capacity of Sertorius against that of Sulla, Lucullus, or Pompey, and it will reduce his career, which was remarkable enough, to more reasonable proportions than that in which the heroics of some historians have painted it.

On the death of Sertorius Osca and most of the towns which obeyed him in Hither Spain surrendered, and the rest were captured after many months of tedious and savage warfare. The modern Spaniards have been famous for the iron tenacity with which they have fought behind their walls, notably at St. Sebastian We similarly read how in this

campaign at the siege of Calagurris they put their women and children to the sword, and fed on their salted corpses.[1] The two Roman commanders proceeded to organise the provinces anew—Metellus in Further and Pompey in Hither Spain; rewards and punishments being distributed, and taxes increased or diminished, as the two commanders deemed the people guilty or not of wrongdoing, in the long war. A body of Sertorian soldiers in the Pyrenees were persuaded by Pompey to lay down their arms and were settled north of the mountains at Lugudunum (St. Bertrand de Cominge, in the Haute Garonne) as the community of the Convenae ('the Congregated').[2] Metellus then returned towards Rome, leaving his younger colleague to collect the last fruits of their victories.

It was perhaps natural for the later historians, to whom the name of Pompey stood for a good deal more than that of his attractive colleague, Metellus, to apportion the principal share of the laurels to the younger commander. It was also a weakness of Pompey himself to appropriate the glory of others. He, however, left some notable personal marks of his presence in Spain. Perhaps the most pleasant one was the Roman citizenship he granted to those emigrants and others who had helped him. This was notably the case with some of the picked men of Gades, which thus began a fresh lease of prosperity. Among them was Balbus who took the further Roman name of L. Cornelius, and who afterwards had a notable career and eventually became Consul. Many ruined triumphal arches still testify to Pompey's love of display and advertisement, and among the Basques is a town called after him and still known as Pampeluna.

Lastly, he erected a memorial of his victories in the eastern part of the Pyrenees, through which ran the road from Narbo (Narbonne), in Gaul, to Juncaria, in Spain, the pass now called the Col de Pertus. There at the Summatus Pyre-

[1] *Quoque diutius armata iuventus sua viscera visceribus suis aleret, infelices cadaverum reliquias sallire non dubitavit.*—Val. Max. vii. 6. 3.

[2] Mommsen, iv. 304.

naeus, as it is named in the Roman itineraries, which was the natural boundary of Gaul and Spain, he built his trophy. The inscription recorded in exaggerated language that from the Alps to the Pillars of Hercules eight hundred and seventy-six towns had been reduced to subjection. 'Pompeius,' says Long, 'had, however, the modesty and the good sense not to place the name of Sertorius on the monument,'[1] a sentence which reads rather cryptic, for Long apparently means that he entirely ignored his colleague.

Before we accompany the two generals back to their triumph at Rome we must survey what was going on all this while at the other end of the empire. It is well to remember that at this time Rome was, in fact, maintaining not one but two desperate campaigns against two highly skilled and most dangerous enemies. While Metellus and Pompey were opposing Sertorius in Spain Lucullus was fighting against Mithridates, king of Pontus, and his son-in-law Tigranes, king of Armenia, and it is necessary, if we are to follow the course of events with any profit, that we should realise the kind of struggle this meant.

L. Licinius Lucullus is described by Plutarch as tall, well made, eloquent, and as having high administrative as well as military talents. He became consul in the year 74 B.C., and belonged to an illustrious stock, the Licinii, which comprised at least two famous families, the Crassi and Luculli, and although of plebeian status only, had produced some remarkable men. The immediate ancestors of Lucullus himself had not a good reputation for probity. He himself, however, was highly respected. He had married the daughter of Appius Claudius, and the Claudian 'gens' belonged to the highest rank of the aristocracy. He had proved himself a good scholar, had great command both of Greek and Latin, and was an admirer and patron of Greek culture; nor was he chargeable in his early days with the sordid vices of his later career. He had been a strong supporter of Sulla, whose political theories he adopted, and who dedicated his autobiography to him and

[1] *Op. cit.* ii. 480.

made him the guardian of his son and his executor, with charge of his MSS. He served with Sulla in the East as quaestor, and while there, acting in this capacity, issued the famous Lucullian coinage, called after him, struck to meet the needs of Sulla's campaigns in Greece and Asia Minor. Plutarch says it was struck in Peloponnesus, and continued to be chiefly in use for the army on account of its goodness. He took part with distinction in Sulla's various campaigns in the East. *Inter alia* while the latter was attacking Athens he landed in and secured Crete for the great Dictator, whence he passed to Cyrene, where he conciliated and won over the people by his affable manners and tact. Thence again he went to Egypt, was attacked by pirates on the way and lost many of his ships, but escaped and was eventually escorted by the whole Egyptian fleet into Alexandria in stately fashion. The young king Ptolemy did him the unusual honour of giving him quarters in his palace. Plutarch remarks as a notable thing that he was so engrossed with his master's business at this time that he did not even visit Memphis. Ptolemy refused to form an alliance with Sulla, for fear of bringing other enemies on himself, but gave Lucullus an escort to Cyprus. Thence he went to Rhodes. Appian says he had collected *a kind* of fleet from Cyprus, Phoenicia, Rhodes, and Pamphylia.[1] He persuaded the people of Cos and Cnidus to abandon Mithridates, himself drove that king's troops out of Chios, and captured Epigonos, the tyrant of Colophon, restoring its freedom to that city.[2]

At this time Mithridates had been compelled to abandon Pergamos, and had sought shelter at Pitana, where the skilful but not very reputable Roman general Fimbria had beleaguered him by land. Fimbria sent to implore Lucullus to bring his fleet and blockade the port with it, when they would certainly capture the most potent enemy the Romans had, who was really caught in a trap, and the war would be at an end.

Either through jealousy or for some other ignoble cause, or that he hated Fimbria, who had lately murdered and displaced

[1] *Mith. Wars*, 56. [2] Plutarch, *Lucullus*.

his old general and friend, the Consul Valerius Flaccus,[1] or because, as Plutarch suggests, he reserved Mithridates to be his own opponent, he refused to go. Mithridates escaped, and the event caused the Romans prolonged troubles. He presently beat the king's fleet twice. On these occasions his flagship, we are told, was a famous Rhodian galley of five banks of oars. He then went to meet Sulla, and helped to transport his army into Asia.

Peace was now made with Mithridates, who withdrew his fleet to the Euxine, while Sulla laid a fine of 20,000 talents (4,800,000*l.*) on the province of Asia. This was collected and coined into money by Lucullus. As the Mitylenians refused to pay, Lucullus attacked and captured their city, and secured an immense booty and 6,000 slaves.

The peace of Delium, wrung from the unwilling Mithridates, involved *inter alia* the restoration by him of all his conquests still in his hands—'Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Bithynia, Western Asia Minor, and the islands, the surrender of prisoners and deserters, the giving up of eighty war vessels, pay and provisions for the army, and the payment of an indemnity of 3,000 talents (720,000*l.*) . . . . Thus after four years of war the Pontic king was again a client of the Romans, and a settled government was re-established in Greece, Macedonia, and Asia Minor.'

Sulla was anxious to get back to Italy, to pay off many scores against his enemies there. He accordingly left two legions behind in Asia under Murena, with whom there remained Lucullus, who thus luckily escaped being mixed up in the proscriptions and crimes of the Sullan restoration.

Soon after the death of Sulla—namely, in 74 B.C.—Lucullus was appointed Consul, with Marcus Cotta as his colleague. 'At this time,' says Plutarch, 'many proposed to renew the

[1] Flaccus is described by Cassius Dio as exceedingly avaricious, appropriating even a part of the soldiers' allowance for food, and Fimbria seems to have had reason to suspect that he had an intention to undo him. We must always remember that what we know of Fimbria is probably largely derived from the memoirs of his great enemy, Sulla.

Mithridatic war,' and Cotta himself said 'the fire was not extinguished, it only slept in embers.' Lucullus, who was ambitious above all things of the opportunities such a renewal would furnish him, had been, however, assigned the pro-consular province of Cisalpine Gaul, at which he was much chagrined, and he felt that Pompey's Spanish victories ought to give him even superior claims to his own to have such a command.

Fortunately for him at this time Octavius, the governor of Cilicia, died, and not disdaining to use his influence with an infamous woman named Praecia who had much to do with appointments, Lucullus secured the post of Octavius for himself, and further secured that Pompey should be furnished with ample resources to carry on the Spanish war, and thus be kept there. His colleague Cotta got command of the Eastern fleet, with the duty of protecting Bithynia.

The cause of the second war with Mithridates was not at all creditable to the Romans. The rich and fertile kingdom of Pontus, which was his original heritage, was so named from stretching along the Euxine. It was bounded on the west by the river Billaeus, which separated it from Bithynia and Paphlagonia, and on other sides by Galatia, Cappadocia, and Armenia. It was a country of great wealth and fertility, and on its seaboard were planted several famous Greek towns, the chief being Sinope, Amisus, Side, and Trapezus. Its ruling family was descended on one side from the old Achaemenian kings of Persia and on the other from the Seleucidae, and the community was in fact of partially Hellenised Iranian blood. Its then ruler, Mithridates VI., had enlarged his borders very greatly. He had conquered Colchis, the famous district on the Phasis, whence the golden fleece was brought (the modern Mingrelia and Imeretia), with its great entrepôt of Dioscurias. This was made into a Pontic satrapy. In addition to this, Mithridates had crossed the Caucasus and appropriated the kingdom of the Bosphorus, where he put his son Machares as his deputy, and extended its limits as far as the Dniester, while the peoples of Thrace

were more or less controlled by him. A more potent element in his influence was that he was looked upon by the various Greek communities in the East as their champion against the aggressive and ever extending power of Rome, and his struggle against Rome has in fact been described as the last real campaign of the world of Hellas against Rome.

Pontus was thus a great prize to tempt any ambitious general who was bent on loot and plunder, and its unwieldy forces were too enervated by luxury and too ill-disciplined to make an effective resistance against the legionaries. The Roman authorities, whose policy was largely controlled by money-lenders and plutocrats at this time, professed to be dissatisfied with Sulla's treaty and refused to ratify it, thus leaving a cause of offence open when it should be needed. Other causes soon arose.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, had died a few months before and left his kingdom as a legacy to the Romans. The Senate, not very willingly, and under the pressure of public opinion, accepted the bequest. This involved a considerable danger for Mithridates, who thus saw a useful 'buffer state' removed from between him and the ambitious and not very scrupulous power beyond. He was further irritated by the aggressive attitude of Murena, who had been left in command of Fimbria's two legions by Sulla, and who, according to Appian, 'sought trifling pretexts for war, being ambitious of triumph.' Not only so, but he made an unprovoked invasion of Cappadocia and attacked Comana, whose temple he plundered. When Mithridates referred him to Sulla's treaty he repudiated it, saying it was not written out, and proceeded to rob and plunder, not sparing even the temples. Mithridates then sent to complain to the Senate and to Sulla. Murena meanwhile continued his aggression and captured 400 villages west of the Halys. The Roman deputy who had been sent to inquire into the great king's complaints, while openly rebuking the recent aggression, secretly encouraged Murena, in spite of Sulla's disapproval of the whole matter as a clear breach of his treaty. Mithridates

now attacked Murena in turn, defeated him severely, and drove him to seek shelter over the hills of Phrygia, and speedily cleared Cappadocia of his scattered troops. Appian's description of the sacrifice offered by Mithridates to Zeus Stratius on this occasion is worth quoting. It was offered, he says, on a high mountain and on a lofty pile of wood, according to the fashion of the country. First the king himself carried wood to the heap. They then made a smaller pile encircling the other one, on which they poured milk, honey, wine, oil, and various kinds of incense ; a banquet was then spread out on the ground (as at the sacrifices of the Persian kings at Pasargardae), and they then set fire to the wood. The height of the flames was so great that it could be seen at a distance of 1,000 stadia from the sea.[1]

In view of the Roman aggressions and the attitude of the Senate, which, after Sulla's death, continued to refuse his demands for the signature of the treaty, Mithridates began preparations on a great scale for the war, which was clearly inevitable, and which he meant therefore to forestall. *Inter alia* he made advances to Sertorius for an alliance. The latter sent two of his supporters, Lucius Magius and Lucius Fannius, to negotiate ; together with Marcus Varius, as a capable general to help Mithridates with his advice. We learn that the two former were officers in Fimbria's old division, who deserted to Mithridates and persuaded him to open negotiations with Sertorius. The Pontic king spent most of the summer in cutting timber, building ships, and making arms, and distributed 2,000,000 'medimni' of 12 gallons each of wheat along the coast, and he recruited his forces from the various tribes round the Black Sea, including the Sarmatae, the Thracians and the Bastarnae by the Danube.[2] Plutarch tells us that his army consisted of 120,000 foot soldiers,[3] 16,000 cavalry, and 100 armed chariots. He had worked hard to improve the quality of his troops. According to the same writer he had dispensed with the

[1] *Mith. Wars*, 66.
[2] Appian, *Mith. Wars*, 69.
[3] Appian, *op. cit.*, says 140,000.

showy trappings which an eastern soldiery loves and replaced their accustomed weapons decorated with precious stones and armed them with swords in the Roman fashion, and with large and heavy shields, while his cavalry was better mounted than hitherto. His navy, we are again told, was not equipped, as before, with gilded pavilions, baths, and delicious apartments for the women, but with all manner of offensive and defensive weapons and with money for the soldiers.

In the early spring he made trial of his navy and sacrificed to Zeus Stratius in the usual way, and also to Poseidon by plunging a chariot with white horses into the sea. His preparations being ready he harangued his men, inveighed against the bad faith, avarice, and lust of power of the Romans, and then entered Bithynia.[1] There he was received as a deliverer by the cities, as he was in the province of Asia, which had been intolerably plundered by the Roman tax-gatherers. With considerable acuteness he professed to be acting not in his own interests but in those of his ally, Sertorius, in far-off Spain, who was, he deemed, trying to rid Rome itself from an intolerable burden. In Bithynia Chalcedon alone remained loyal to the Romans. Chalcedon was planted on an important strategic position opposite Byzantium on the Bosphorus. There the Roman fleet under Cotta rendezvoused to prevent that of Pontus from entering the sea of Marmora, and there it sustained a severe defeat. The town was now beleaguered by land and sea. The brazen chain protecting the harbour was broken and sixty of the Roman ships were towed away with their crews, while they lost 3,000 men, including Lucius Manlius, a person of consular rank. The loss of the enemy was very slight. The consul Cotta was now shut up in the town. Lucullus, who was in Phrygia, turned aside and marched to the rescue. According to Appian, besides the raw levies he had brought from Italy, forming one legion, he had four legions with him; two of them had formed Fimbria's command and had betrayed that general

[1] Appian, *op. cit.* 71.

to Sulla. Plutarch says they were still mutinous and lawless men, but brave, hardy, and experienced soldiers. Altogether the army of Lucullus was not more altogether than 30,000 foot and 1,600 horse.[1] Some of his officers counselled him to invade Pontus while Mithridates was detained at Chalcedon and to take no heed of Cotta, who had brought his trouble on his own head, but he replied that he was not in the habit of passing by the wild beasts and making for their dens. Meanwhile Mithridates himself apparently withdrew from Chalcedon and turned aside to attack Cyzicus, the richest mercantile mart on the Sea of Marmora, which had fought against him in the battle with Cotta and had then lost 10 ships and 3,000 men. He therefore beleaguered the place both by sea and land. Lucullus drew near and let it be known to the citizens that he was at hand, and sent some succour into the place furtively. They held bravely out and Plutarch tells a story which marks the mode of thinking of the time. He says that the feast of Persephone being at hand when the Cyzicenians usually sacrificed a black heifer to her, having no living animal of the kind with them they made one of paste and were approaching the altar with it, when a suitable victim, which was pasturing beyond the firth with other cattle, swam alone across to the town and offered itself at the altar. Thereupon a terrible hurricane came on which destroyed the wonderful siege artillery and the wooden tower, a hundred cubits high, which Niconidos the Thessalian had made for the great king, while news arrived that Athene at Ilium was seen by many in their dreams all covered with sweat and with part of her veil rent, and she said that she had just come from helping the Cyzicenians. They afterwards showed a pillar at Ilium with an inscription recording the event. Meanwhile the besieged, who did not know Lucullus was so close by, learnt about him from a soldier, who was a good swimmer and who took two inflated skins, in one of which a letter from the Roman general was sewn up. The skins were held together by two pieces of wood.

[1] Appian, *op. cit.* 72. Plutarch says 2,500 cavalry.

Mounted on this float he paddled himself over seven miles of sea and got into the place. Lucullus also managed by an artifice to pass a few of his men into the town.

Meanwhile Mithridates found, what many other commanders of exaggerated forces in lean countries have found, a great difficulty in feeding his men, more especially as Lucullus prudently contented himself with seizing a position of great vantage whence he could cut off the land route by which supplies were brought to the Pontic force.

Mithridates did not relax his efforts, however. He blockaded the harbour with a double sea wall, drew lines of circumvallation round the city, and raised mounds, with various machines, towers and rams protected by tortoises on them. *Inter alia* there was a tower 100 cubits high, on which was planted another tower furnished with catapults, &c., while two quinquiremes carried another tower against the fort from which a bridge could be projected when near the wall. The citizens fought bravely, however, burnt the machines with Greek fire, broke the rams with stones, turned them aside with nooses, or deadened their blows with baskets of wool, and used water and vinegar or hung out clothes to mitigate the enemies' fire-bearing missiles.[1]

While these events were progressing in the north, and in the year 74 B.C., we are told by Appian that Eumachos, one of the generals of Mithridates, overran Phrygia, where he killed many Romans, and subjugated the Pisidians, Isaurians and Cilicia. It was against these invaders that Caesar made his famous effort while living at Rhodes, which I described in the previous paper. It is curious that Appian does not mention Caesar's name in this connection, merely saying that it was Deiotaros, one of the tetrarchs of Galatia, who drove away the marauding army and slew most of his men,[2] and it is plain that the effect of Caesar's intervention was afterwards greatly exaggerated.

Meanwhile, Mithridates raised the siege of Cyzicus. It would seem that, as was frequently the case in ancient sieges,

[1] Appian, *Mith. Wars*, 74.

[2] *Op. cit.* 75.

when sanitation was little understood and attended to, a pestilence broke out, and there was no help for it but to march homewards. He divided his forces into two bodies. The cavalry and baggage train, with the least useful part of the infantry, was sent by the inland route to Bithynia, while with the rest he himself marched along the coast road towards Lampsacus, which was one of his depots. Lucullus did not hesitate — although the roads were choked with snow, he advanced rapidly, attacked the former force on the Rhyndacus, and destroyed it, capturing 15,000 prisoners and 6,000 horses. Then turning upon the other army, which had been hampered in its march, he attacked it in turn on the Aesepus and destroyed it also, only a few of the enemy's troops in fact escaping. It was a brilliant feat worthy of Clive or Napier, and it saved the Roman possessions in Asia. *Inter alia* Chalcedon was relieved and the maritime towns of Bithynia reoccupied, while the Pontic fleet was soon after driven out of the Sea of Marmora into the Aegean. Its admiral was apparently captured with 10,000 gold pieces entrusted to him to corrupt some of the Roman forces. The campaign had been fought with almost reckless daring as well as skill. The grateful people of Cyzicus founded a festival in honour of Lucullus, which Appian says was celebrated in his day.

Having released Cyzicus, Lucullus sent letters wreathed with bay (as was the custom of victors) to Rome, and then went to the Hellespont to collect a fleet, and *en route* landed at Troas, and slept in the temple of Venus there, when as Plutarch tells us he had a premonitory dream. News presently arrived that thirteen of the great king's ships were in the offing making for Lesbos. He went in pursuit, captured them, and killed their admiral Isodoros. The rest of the fleet, commanded by Varius (who was acting as deputy to Sertorius, and is called Marius by Plutarch), was anchored off the island. Lucullus attacked it, and caused a panic among the ships, and destroyed many of them. Varius himself, who, like his master, had but one eye, was captured. He was put

to death, says Appian, because Lucullus did not want to have his triumph graced by a Roman senator.[1]

Mithridates escaped with his ships from his recent disastrous fight. They were, however, dispersed in a storm, the whole shore was lined with their wreckage, and as his own ship sprang a leak, it threatened to founder. Trusting himself to a small boat belonging to some pirates, he eventually reached Heracleia after escaping great dangers. There he left a garrison of 4,000 men under Cormacorise, probably a Galatian, with a sum of money, and then sailed away past Sinope to Amisus.[2] Meanwhile Triarius, the subordinate of Lucullus, took Apamaea, on the Gulf of Cius, and slew many of the inhabitants who had taken refuge in the temples, while Barba took Prusa, at the foot of Mount Olympus, Cius and Nicaea, which last had been abandoned by its garrison.[3]

Lucullus, like other great soldiers, knew well the advantage of immediately following up his victories, and determined while his enemy was still prostrate to attempt what no doubt seemed a quixotic venture to his more sober officers—namely, the pursuit of the great Eastern Sultan into his inner dominions. He determined to do this in an unprecedented fashion, and without obtaining the sanction or mandate of the Senate, as Russian proconsuls have done in Central Asia and some of our own generals in India. He accordingly summoned his principal officers to a council of war at Nicomedia. They were for resting through the winter. He was in no mood for waiting, either to permit the enemy to recover or to give time to the vacillating Senate at home to again change its policy, and made up his mind, come what might, to follow his own initiative and to invade Pontus itself, a country of whose geography little was known, and in which campaigning was difficult. As Ferrero says in his recently published and excellent volumes: 'By his invasion of Pontus, Lucullus was not only precipitating the decision of a long and serious conflict, he was making a revolution in the international relations of his country. He was introducing a new conception

[1] Appian, *Mith. Wars*, 77. [2] Plutarch. [3] Appian, 77.

into Roman policy, the idea of aggressive Imperialism. The invasion of Pontus was the first symptom of that policy of the personal initiative of provincial generals which was destined in the course of a single decade to replace the feeble and inconsistent control of the Senate, and become the strongest force in Roman government.'[1] He accordingly marched through Bithynia and Galatia, and at first found provisions so scarce that he employed a body of 30,000 Gauls as porters, each carrying a 'medimnus' (a bushel and a-half) of wheat, to provision his troops with, but presently he entered the richly fertile lands of Pontus itself, into which he poured his hungry and rapacious soldiers. He captured so much booty that an ox sold for a drachma, and a slave for four, and goats, sheep and clothing in similar proportions. The rest of what was captured was left behind or destroyed for want of purchasers. With his cruel cavalry he wasted all the country as far as Themiscyra on the river Thermodon, which was attacked *inter alia* by mines, which, we are told, the enemy in turn attacked by various devices, including swarms of bees, while siege machinery was planted on lofty mounds, but his soldiers were not even then satisfied. They complained that he allowed the towns to surrender instead of letting them be stormed and looted.[2] They were especially angry when he proposed to spare Amisus (the modern Samsoon), the very rich and cultured centre of Greek civilisation in those parts, to which he had laid siege, and to pursue Mithridates into the wastes of Tibarene and Chaldaea.[3] Meanwhile Triarius, with seventy ships, entered the Aegean and attacked and destroyed the royal Pontic fleet of eighty vessels at Tenedos. Having left Murena to continue the siege of Amisus, Lucullus marched against Mithridates, who had sent supplies, arms and soldiers to relieve the threatened town, and had collected a fresh army of 40,000 foot soldiers and 4,000 cavalry. Lucullus managed to plant his men on some heights overlooking the plains of the Cabiri where the

[1] *Op. cit.* 115. [2] Plutarch, *Luc.* 14; App. *Mith.* 78.
[3] Plutarch, *loc. cit.*

Pontic army was encamped. While there, according to Plutarch, Mithridates employed a certain Dardarian grandee named Olthacus to try and assassinate him, but the attempt failed. Appian's account of this is not so precise as might be, and raises doubts as to the reality of the plot. After suffering some minor defeats the half-disciplined force of Mithridates began to get out of hand, and was seized with a sudden panic, as often happens when men's nerves are tried by an impending battle being postponed from day to day. The half-mad crowd of panic-stricken soldiers plundered their officers' baggage, trampled Dorglano, a Pontic general, to death, while the chief priest of the army suffered the same fate at the gate of the camp. The great king himself was swept along with the torrent. Of all his royal stud, not a horse was left, and one of his officers had to find him a mount. He would have been taken prisoner if the troopers who pursued him had not stopped to rescue a mule laden with gold that passed by. The mercenary Greeks and others in the royal service too often also proved treacherous and deserted. Lucullus now captured Cabira, on the river Lycus, a royal residence with a water-mill, parks, a menagerie of wild beasts, mines, vineyards and olive yards, and many other strong places with much treasure, and released several Greek prisoners, and even some of the king's relatives, among them one of his sisters named Nyssa. The rest of the harem of Mithridates, which had been sent for safety to Pharnacea (Kerasunt), was put to death by his own orders by the eunuch Bacchides, or took poison. Among them were two of his sisters named Roxana and Statira, who Plutarch says were still virgins; the former died cursing her brother, the other sister thanked the king for saving her from slavery and insult. Two of his wives, both Ionians, Berenike of Chios and Monime of Miletus, also perished. The last had resisted all his advances until he promised her marriage and sent her a diadem and declared her queen. The eunuch having now given her the option of suicide she vainly tried to cut her throat with her diadem, and then offered it to the sword of

Bacchides. Several of the other ladies took poison. Berenike first gave the cup to her mother, and as she herself was long a-dying she was strangled. Plutarch remarks (in a not attractive phrase) that these events were very distasteful to the native goodness and humanity of Lucullus.

The latter pursued Mithridates as far as Talaura, where he learnt that he had escaped to his son-in-law Tigranes, with 2,000 men. Having subdued the Chaldaei, Tibareni and lesser Armenia and captured many fortresses, he sent his brother-in-law Clodius, of whom we shall hear too much later on, to demand the surrender of Mithridates from Tigranes, and meanwhile returned to press the siege of Amisus, which was defended with great skill and pertinacity by the engineer Callimachos. At length, Lucullus having captured part of the walls by a stratagem, Callimachos set fire to the town and set sail. Lucullus, according to Plutarch, in vain tried to save so fine a place, and so full of artistic treasures, and entreated his soldiers to extinguish the flames, but they were insatiable, and proceeded themselves with fresh torches to fire fresh quarters and to ruthlessly plunder and destroy with the same wild fury which inspired our own Peninsular veterans at the capture of Badajoz, where they also broke loose from the control of another iron commander. Luckily a heavy rain came on which put out the fires, and many of the principal buildings were saved. There is some pathos in the phrase attributed to Lucullus, who was a literary man and had artistic sympathies, on this occasion. 'I have often admired the good fortune of Sulla,' he said, 'but never so much as to-day. He wished to save Athens, and succeeded. I wished to imitate him, but the Gods have classed me with Mummius' (*i.e.* with the destroyer of Corinth).[1]

Lucullus proceeded to rebuild the town, inviting back such of the citizens as had escaped. Among these were some fugitives from Athens, who had fled from the tyranny of Aristion and, *inter alios*, the grammarian Tyrannis. His

[1] Plutarch, *Lucullus*.

subordinate Murena asked him of Lucullus, and then gave him his freedom, which apparently displeased the latter, and his displeasure is reflected in Plutarch's phrases. The fact is that, by giving him his freedom, it technically constituted the relation of patron and freedman between them, which perhaps Lucullus thought a degradation to so great a scholar. Tyrannis went to Rome. There he arranged the library of Apellikon, which Sulla had carried off. He became the master of Strabo the geographer. He taught Quintus Cicero, the son of the orator, and also his son Marcus, and arranged Cicero's own disorderly library, put fresh cases on the books, and made a catalogue of them. Lucullus now sent his fleet to capture the towns on the Pontic coast, including Amastris, Heracleia, etc. His victories had gained him considerable fame at Rome, and he was now—*i.e.* in 71 B.C.—given the government of the Roman province of Asia, and he turned to the task of relieving it from the terrible pressure of the farmers of the revenue and the usurers, and generally the plutocrats and financiers who had exploited it, and to whom the poor inhabitants had in many cases had to sell their children, their treasures, works of art, and even the statues of their gods, and the offerings in the temples, and often to end by becoming slaves themselves, while they were treated with constant cruelty and oppression. He prescribed that not more than one per cent. per month, which was the legal interest at Rome at this time, was to be charged. He abolished all the accumulated interest that exceeded the principal, and provided that the creditor should not take more than a fourth of the debtor's income, while compound interest was declared illegal. Thus in four years, we are told, all debts were paid off, and the estates were restored free again to their owners. These enactments made Lucullus very unpopular with the plutocrats and moneylenders at Rome, who had directly or vicariously dragged 120,000 talents out of the miserable country in order, it would seem, to raise the original levy of 20,000 talents imposed by Sulla. According to Plutarch, they hired a number of popular orators to attack

him ; while he became, on the contrary, popular with the provincials, especially the Greeks, whom he tried hard to conciliate.

He had sent Clodius, as we have seen, to Tigranes to demand the surrender of Mithridates. Tigranes was a magnificent personage. In addition to the kingdom of Armenia which he inherited, he had conquered the greater part of Parthia and of the empire of the Seleucidae, and his dominions stretched from the Caucasus to the Tigris. Plutarch tells us he had colonised Mesopotamia with Greeks, whom he transported in large numbers from Cilicia and Cappadocia, and had settled the nomadic Arabs on the borders of Armenia in order to avail himself of their mercantile abilities.

He tells us further that he styled himself King of Kings, had many kings at his court in the capacity of servants, and four in particular, as mace-bearers and footmen, ran before him in short jackets, and when he sat to give audience stood by him with their hands clasped together. Clodius, unabashed by this grandeur, proceeded to Antioch, the western capital of Tigranes and the finest city of the Hellenic world, to demand the surrender of Mithridates, and in default threatened that the Romans would attack him, while he proceeded to intrigue with the dependent rulers who chafed at the dominance of the proud Armenian. Tigranes, who resented having been called King and not King of Kings by the saucy envoy, refused to surrender his father-in-law, and declared that if attacked he knew how to defend himself. He however sent some sumptuous presents to Clodius, who accepted a cup, and returned all the rest. Plutarch tells a story showing the insolent bearing of the Greeks at the courts of the Barbarian Kings at this time. Amphicrates the orator having been invited by Tigranes to settle at Seleucia, insolently replied that a plate could not hold a dolphin. His virtually enforced suicide naturally followed not long after, and he was not the first wit whose epigram cost him his life. Meanwhile Lucullus was at Ephesus, entertaining the Greek cities with shows, triumphal festivities,

and wrestling and gladiatorial displays, and they in turn instituted a feast called Lucullia in his honour.

On the return of Clodius, Lucullus went back to his army and proceeded to capture Sinope from a body of unruly Cilicians, who had seized it, many of whom he killed. He also secured Amasia, while Heracleia, which resisted, was devastated in ruthless fashion, its inhabitants were put to the sword, and its wealth was appropriated by the rapacious and worthless Cotta, who thereupon sent his troops to join Lucullus, and himself set off for Rome with the loot he had appropriated. *Inter alia* was a statue of Hercules from the market-place and the splendid metal mounts of the pyramid (*i.e.* the pedestal), including a club of pure hammered gold, the huge lion's skin spread over it, and the case (also of gold), containing the bow and arrows.[1] Some of the ships were too heavily laden and foundered, others had to discharge a part of their treasures overboard to join the rich harvests which have been appropriated by the insatiable sea. Lucullus now proceeded to recall their inhabitants, who had fled from Sinope and Amisus, which makes Appian say that he desolated and re-peopled both of these towns. At Sinope he appropriated for himself the Sphere of Bellarus and a statue of Autolycus, the mythical founder of Sinope, by the sculptor Sthenis, which the fugitives in their hurry had left on the beach.[2] What is more curious, Machares, the son of Mithridates, who was master of the Bosphorus, sent him a present of a golden coronet worth a thousand staters. The answer of Tigranes had been treated as a declaration of war, and Lucullus had been especially exasperated because he had been refused the style of imperator by the proud king. Having left 6,000 men to guard the province of Asia, he now set out to conquer Armenia. It was a desperate venture, for he had but two legions and a body of Galatian and Thracian mercenaries with him, barely 20,000 men in all, whose discipline had begun to fail, while his enemy still commanded many myriads of cavalry and great resources.

[1] Long, iii. 80. [2] *Ibid.*

Nor had he secured any mandate or authorisation from the Senate to make what was in effect an unprovoked attack on what was now the most powerful neighbour of the Republic. The orators in the Forum meanwhile continued their denunciation of him for levying war after war not for the public benefit, but his own. One of them, Lucius Quintus, scornfully said that he had had the almost entire control of Cilicia, Asia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, Armenia, and all the provinces as far as the Phasis ; and now he was pillaging the royal palaces of Tigranes, as if he had been sent to strip and not to subdue kings.[1]

He did not heed these democrats, feeling sure of the support of the oligarchic Senate, and he determined to march straight upon Tigranocerta, the modern Sert on the river Bitlis, trusting in the main to his good fortune, the toughness of his men, and his own indomitable nerve and courage. He soon reached the Euphrates (having been greeted by Arioblarzanes, king of Cappadocia, *en route*), which he crossed. He sacrificed a bull to the Euphrates in gratitude for his safe passage, while one of the sacred herd of heifers sacred to Diana, and set apart for offerings to her (being specially marked with a torch as a sign of their dedication), came, according to Plutarch, and offered itself willingly as another victim. Appian tells a similar story, as we have seen, of the siege of Cyzicus.

The next day he marched through Sophene, where the people furnished supplies, and, crossing the Tigris, he entered Armenia. Tigranes was inflated beyond conception by his pomp of power, and by a long and successful reign, in which his arbitrary will had been seldom curbed ; nor would he heed the prudent counsels of his father-in-law, who had reason to know the mettle of these legionaries, and counselled the use of Fabian tactics. Xiphilinus says the smallness of the Roman force made him remark that the Romans sent few men to a war but a great many on an embassy. His advanced guard was cut to pieces by Sextilius, the lieutenant of

[1] Plutarch, *op. cit.*

Lucullus, whereupon he abandoned the great city of Tigranocerta, which he had built and called after his own name, and retired towards Mount Taurus to get together a relieving army. There he intended to rendezvous his men, but he was attacked by several detachments of the Romans one after another, and his forces were shattered. He now abandoned his baggage and fled.

Lucullus laid siege to Tigranocerta, which contained a motley population made up of the inhabitants of many cities which the Armenian king had destroyed and then transported their people thither ; among them were many Greeks, Cappadocians and Cilicians. Appian says it was surrounded with walls fifty cubits high, and wide enough to contain stables for horses, while in the suburbs was a royal palace and great parks, enclosures for wild animals, fish ponds, &c., and that close by was a strong tower. The town was also crowded with treasures. While the place was being invested the king managed to send a body of 6,000 men through the Roman lines, which carried off his harem and treasures to a place of safety.

Tigranes had summoned his various peoples to the rescue. The Armenians and Gordyaenians came, says Plutarch, with all their forces, so did the kings of the Medes and Adiabenians, Arabians from the coast of the Persian Gulf, Albanians from the Caspian, and Iberians, who were the neighbours of the Albanians, besides a number of wild tribes from near the Euxine, who were subject to no local rulers. Elated by this imposing force, he again lost his head, and would not wait for the arrival of Mithridates, nor heed the warnings of his best officers not to fight the Romans in a pitched battle, where their discipline would tell. According to the account which Lucullus sent to the Senate,[1] which was doubtless vastly exaggerated, the army which Tigranes had thus collected consisted of 150,000 infantry, 55,000 horse, of whom 17,000 were clad in steel, 20,000 archers and slingers, and 35,000 pioneers and other labourers to make bridges and

[1] Plutarch, *Lucullus*.

roads, to cleanse rivers, cut down wood, &c., &c. These troops were drawn up partly in cohorts in the Roman fashion and partly in phalanx. With these he crossed Mount Taurus. The conditions of the fight remind one of those great Indian battles in which Gough and Lord Wellesley met gigantic masses of Eastern troops, with their small but disciplined forces, battles like Chillianwallah and Assaye, or perhaps still more resembled the opposing forces of Darius and Alexander. Lucullus left 6,000 with Murena to keep watch on Tigranocerta, and with but twenty-four cohorts of legionaries, a complement of cavalry, and 1,000 archers and slingers, probably not more than 15,000 men all told, advanced to meet Tigranes, whose officers railed at the absurdity of the contrast. The day selected by Lucullus for his attack was not an auspicious one, for it was the anniversary of Caepio's defeat by the Cimbri. When he was reminded of this, says Plutarch, he replied, 'I will make this day an auspicious one for Rome.' It was the 6th of October. Lucullus, we are further told, was armed with a cuirass formed of scales, which shone with great lustre, and the robe he wore over it was adorned with a fringe. The heavy cavalry of the enemy were clad in iron and unwieldy armour, and could use no other weapons but pikes. The Roman general ordered his light Thracian and Gaulish horse to attack them in rear, and disable them by cutting the shafts of their pikes, and to strike at their legs and thighs, which were alone unprotected by armour. Instead of waiting for the attack these mailed warriors, who, as Plutarch says, looked like men walled up in their armour, were panic-stricken and fled, and in their flight overran their own infantry and put them in dire confusion, and their ranks were so thick and deep that they became entangled with each other, and a terrible slaughter ensued. Tigranes fled, one of the first to go, and transferred his diadem to the head of his young son. The latter handed it to a servant. It was presently captured, and was shown in the Triumph of Lucullus. Of the foot soldiers of the Armenian king it was said 100,000 fell, and of the horse few escaped, while of the Romans but five were killed

and a hundred wounded. The Roman historians, especially Sallust and Livy, quoted by Plutarch, agree that never did the Romans with such an inferior force encounter such odds as in this fight, when they formed but a twentieth part of their opponents.

In concert with the Greek mercenaries inside the city who had been disarmed and mutinied, Lucullus now stormed and captured Tigranocerta, where he secured an immense booty. It would seem that he appropriated the royal treasures to himself, while the soldiers were allowed to sack the place, in which were 8,000 talents in coined money and 2,700 more were made by the sale of other things. His men, who had lately shown great signs of discontent at the risks and hardships they had endured, were further rewarded with a gift of 800 drachmas each, and they then all went into winter quarters together. The whole story is a sickening and revolting piece of utter wickedness and barbarity, for the war was virtually unprovoked and its motive was the basest lust of gold and blood on the part of all from the commander downwards. *Inter alios* Lucullus found in the city a large number of actors, whom Tigranes had collected for the opening of his new theatre. These were now utilised for the games held to commemorate the victory. He sent home the Greeks and others who had been forcibly deported. On the other hand, the kings of the Arabs, the people of Sophene, and the Gordyaenians all submitted to him. The King of the last of these peoples, Larbienus, had privately offered to become an ally of the Romans; this fact having been betrayed, he and his wife and children had been put to death by Tigranes. As Lucullus passed through Gordyene he determined that the king should have a stately funeral. He put a number of golden tissues and royal robes found among the spoils of Tigranes on the funeral pyre, and offered the accustomed libations, proclaiming him his friend and the ally of the Roman people, and also put up a fine monument to him. In his treasury there had been found a great quantity of gold and silver, and in his storehouses three millions of *medimni*

of wheat. This proved a sufficient provision for the soldiers. Plutarch adds a most cynical sentence which must surely have come from some memoirs of Lucullus. He says, 'He was much admired for making the war maintain itself, and for carrying it on without taking a drachma from the public treasury. . . .'

He now exchanged envoys with the Parthians, who offered him their alliance, but having learnt that the Parthian king was privately corresponding with Mithridates and Tigranes, he determined with no more potent excuse, to attack him too, and sent for the contingent from Pontus to join him, but these latter soldiers proved refractory and mutinous, and neither persuasion nor force would move them. The same spirit spread to the troops which had just vanquished Tigranes, who were longing for repose and surfeited with success and booty. We must remember that one body of them, the former legions of Fimbria, called Valerians from their first commander, had now been continuously fighting for twenty years. Discipline, the most rigid, iron discipline, had been the potent feature of Roman armies at their best. It was the rock against which the forces of Mithridates and Tigranes, as those of many other foes, had vainly dashed, and it was a dangerous and an ominous symptom that the soldiers of Lucullus should refuse, notwithstanding his sensational successes, to obey his imperious demands, and should further complain that their former genial leader had become exclusive, and seldom went among them except to demand fresh sacrifices from them. The officers too, who were members of the best families in Rome, were indignant at his continual reprimands for slackness and incapacity; they chafed at his complete indifference to name or rank, at his burdening them with order after order and service after service as though they had constitutions of iron like himself, and were incapable of feeling fatigue; and they declared that, work as hard as they liked, they could never succeed in securing his approbation.[1] One of the principal instigators of the

[1] Ferrero, i. 156 and 157.

discontent was Clodius, his libertine brother-in-law, who no doubt longed to be back with the golden butterflies at Rome, among whom he was a personage, for he belonged to the very pink of the Roman aristocracy. He was apparently also discontented at not having secured a higher command. Plutarch reports the language he addressed to the soldiers whose brilliant commander was his own relative :—'Shall there be no period put to your wars and toils. Will you go on fighting one nation after another and wear out your lives in wandering all over the world? And what is the reward of so many laborious expeditions? What but to guard the waggons and camels of Lucullus, loaded with cups of gold and precious stones? Whereas Pompey's soldiers, already discharged, sit down with their wives and children upon fertile estates and in agreeable towns; not for having driven Mithridates and Tigranes into inaccessible deserts, and destroying the royal cities in Asia, but for fighting with fugitives in Spain and slaves in Italy. If we must for ever have our swords in our hands, let us reserve all our hearts, and what remains of our limbs, for a general who thinks the wealth of his men his greatest ornament."[1]

In consequence of these mutinous signs and of this discontent Lucullus gave up the notion of attacking Parthia, and determined to content himself with finally crushing the confederate kings Tigranes and his father-in-law. He crossed Mount Taurus in 68 B.C. and defeated the enemy in several small engagements, and greatly hampered them by waylaying their convoys, wasting the country round their camp, and otherwise harassing them, and presently advanced upon the remaining capital of Tigranes, where that king had left his harem, namely Artaxata, so called after the Armenian king Artaxias, the correspondent and friend of Hannibal, who had in fact designed and built it for him when his guest. It is supposed to be represented by the ruins of Takt Tiridat or the throne of Tiridates, at the confluence of the Arar and the Lengui.[2] The Armenian king made a desperate effort to

[1] Plutarch, *Lucullus*.

[2] Duruy, ii. 805, *n*.

ward off this further calamity, and planted himself on a ford of the river Arsanias, the affluent of the Euphrates now called the Muradsu, by which the Romans must pass. Lucullus forced the river, however, and as usual the loose, ill-disciplined troops of the Eastern sultan could not stand against the determined and well-handled legionaries. They broke. There was another huge slaughter rather than a victory, and Livy, who is quoted by Plutarch, tells us that, while in the former battle more men were killed or made prisoners, in the latter one they were of greater distinction.[1]

His new victory only inflated Lucullus the more, and made him more determined to force matters home to the last issue, whatever the obstacles. It was late autumn, however, snow fell almost continually, and the frost was so intense that the horses could hardly drink of the rivers or swim over them because the breaking ice cut the sinews of their legs, while the roads passed chiefly through snow-clad forests where there were only damp sleeping quarters. Meanwhile the light cavalry of the enemy acted much the same part that the Cossacks did in the retreat from Moscow. We are told that they used double-barbed arrows, which were equally fatal whether withdrawn from the wound or not, for one barb always remained behind.[2] The troops had not marched far, therefore, before signs of a gathering mutinous spirit were again rampant. In vain he implored them to hold out a little longer until they had destroyed the Armenian Carthage built by Hannibal himself. Further appeals were useless, and the men were supported by their officers. He accordingly recrossed the Taurus Mountains by another route, and came down into Mygdonia, whose capital was the famous city of Nisibin, called Antioch of Mygdonia by the Greeks, situated on one of the upper waters of the Khabur and one of Tigranes' great treasure cities. Guras, the brother of Tigranes, nominally commanded there, and was assisted by the famous engineer Callimachus. Lucullus attacked it furiously on a moonless night during a storm and stormed it. He treated

[1] Plutarch, *op. cit.*

[2] Cassius Dio, xxxvi. 5.

Guras generously, but Callimachus he put in irons with the purpose of putting him to death for having destroyed Amisus. He wintered his troops there.

Meanwhile Mithridates had returned once more to Pontus, where he was again gathering forces about him. These were chiefly Armenians and were trained, says Appian, in the Italian fashion. With them he attacked Fabius, the Roman general who had been left in command by Lucullus when he set out for Armenia. Fabius was deserted by his Thracian mercenaries, while the slaves in his camp were treacherous, and he was badly beaten and lost 500 men, and would have been crushed entirely had not Mithridates been struck by a stone on the knee and wounded in the eye by a dart, which necessitated his being carried out of the fight. He was cured, we are told, by the Agari, a Scythian tribe, who made use of the poison of serpents as a remedy, some of whom always accompanied him as physicians.

Triarius, another subordinate of Lucullus, now came up with succour, and took over the army and command from Fabius, but he also presently found himself in a difficult and dangerous dilemma, and when called upon to march to the rescue the soldiers of Lucullus again proved refractory. According to Sallust, as quoted by Plutarch, they resented having had to spend two winters in the field—one before Cyzicus and the other before Amisus—while the rest of the winters had not been periods of rest, as was usual ; they were either in a hostile country or, if among friends, were obliged to live in tents, for their commander would not let them be quartered in the Greek cities. On hearing, however, that their comrades under Triarius were in danger, they became ashamed of their conduct, and bade Lucullus lead them whither he would. Triarius, however, was anxious for laurels for himself, and would not wait for the succour that was coming. He risked a battle near Gazuira, and was very badly beaten in a night attack. It is said, adds Plutarch, that about 7,000 Romans were killed ; among them were 150 centurions and twenty-four tribunes. Their camp was also captured. The

whole army would have been destroyed had not a treacherous refugee in his army stabbed the king in the thigh, which caused his officers to recall his men from the pursuit. Lucullus arrived a few days later, and saved Triarius from being assassinated by his own men, and Mithridates prudently withdrew to Armenia the Less, west of the Euphrates. News of the fresh catastrophe rapidly flew to Rome, where it needed a very popular general (which Lucullus was not) to maintain his influence under such gloomy conditions. The Demagogues and partisans of the Democrats now fiercely attacked the proud patrician, whom they blamed for every unsuccessful venture or incompetent subordinate. The Tribunes, as so often in Roman history, gave expression to this feeling, and Lucullus was bitterly attacked in the Forum and the street for having waged war without due authorisation, and for having carried it on in a way to blacken the Roman name. He had abundant friends in the Senate, for politically he represented the views and policy of Sulla and the Conservatives, but to the crowd he was a mere masterful, self-seeking, arrogant patrician, and against this popular feeling the Senate felt they could not contend, nor was it forgotten that his command had already lasted six years, and that it might become perpetual and dangerous to liberty.

The Senate was constrained to pass a Bill, introduced by the tribune Gabinius, depriving him of his high command in the East, which had included not only the control of the army, but the government of the provinces of Pontus and Cilicia. These latter were made over to the consul Marcus Acilius Glabrio, and the edict embodying the decree was duly published by him. For a while Lucullus ignored what had been done, and once more called upon his weary legions to march. He appealed to his men as only a successful commander who has led them to many victories can, but this time it was hopeless. They would not move, and abandoned him in large numbers. Meanwhile Mithridates was reconquering his old kingdom, and Tigranes was pillaging Cappadocia, and the government at home, with clear instinct,

felt that the position was becoming dangerous, and that it was vitally necessary to replace the commander, whatever brilliant feats he had performed. It was further felt that at this crisis the man who could be prudent, conciliatory, and at the same time might be trusted to do a soldier's work in soldierly fashion, and to recover the discipline which the army so greatly needed, was Pompey, who was accordingly appointed to the great post of the Eastern command.

The recent Italian historian Ferrero has called special attention to the far-reaching economical effects produced in Italy by the pouring into it at this time of the vast treasures secured by Lucullus and by other recent conquests of the Roman armies, in which a large part of the accumulated wealth of the East was secured. A similar result took place before our own eyes, but on a much smaller scale, in Germany, another poor country, when the French milliards were secured by it. The vast and sudden expansion of capital led to a feverish era of speculation and of experimental finance, with a great collapse presently, in which much suffering ensued. There was also a great development of luxurious living bordering on widespread debauchery, and with it a great wave of artistic culture. All these things came, and with them corresponding demoralisation, in many quarters. Like Napoleon, Lucullus sent home pictures and statues and other artistic works galore, and the centre of gravity of the world's aesthetic and literary culture was in a measure moved to Italy. As in the case of Napoleon, all this wealth and glory which was forced on to the knees of the victor and made a mighty show there, was bought at a fearful price of murderous human suffering elsewhere, accompanied by wholesale destruction of the treasures which human skill had done so much to build up. There were many at Rome whose hearts were not gladdened by the tales of ruthlessness which reached them, nor by the long processions of carts laden with gold and other treasures which the legionaries had taken from burnt palaces and temples, and from large stately towns where the wolf and the pelican were for a long

time to come to take the place of gay and happy human families.

While Pompey was gaining laurels in Spain and Lucullus was doing the same in Asia, Crassus was making himself a name nearer home. Marcus Licinius Crassus belonged to a Plebeian family, which by its wealth and capacity had long made itself acceptable among the most exclusive of the aristocrats. His father, who had filled the office of censor and enjoyed a triumph, was not a man of excessive means, and his children were frugally brought up. He had taken sides against Marius and had become one of his victims, being allowed the privilege of being his own executioner. Marcus himself, who was a little older than Cicero, thereupon joined the party of Sulla, and gave himself up to money-making, for which he had a singular aptitude. The accumulation of money, by all means legitimate or otherwise, became his dominant passion, and the Romans declared that avarice was his only vice. Plutarch has given us a graphic picture of him. 'His love of money,' he says, 'is very evident from the size of his estate and his manner of raising it. At first it did not exceed 300 talents, but during his public employments, after he had consecrated the tenth of his substance to Hercules, given an entertainment to the people, and a supply of corn to each citizen for three months, he found, upon an exact computation, that he was master of 7,100 talents. The greater part of this fortune if we may speak the truth, to his extreme disgrace was gleaned from war and from fires; for he made a traffic of the public calamities. Observing how liable the city was to fires, and that the Roman houses, from being ill-built of wood, were also continually collapsing, he employed an army of 500 slaves as artificers, carpenters and masons, and having bought up houses that had been burnt down or fallen, and others that joined them, at a cheap rate he rebuilt them, so that he became a great owner of house property in the city. His slaves were largely composed of skilled craftsmen, among whom were readers, amanuenses, book-keepers, stewards and cooks, to whose education he attended himself, and he took

great care of them. Among his other sources of income were also silver mines.' These investments, notwithstanding Plutarch's querulous phrases, would be deemed legitimate by modern politicians. There were others which were very much the reverse. In the time of Sulla's proscriptions and confiscations he employed his great capital to great advantage, buying up the forfeited estates or even begging them, and Plutarch says he lost favour with Sulla by proscribing a land-owner himself in Bruttium merely to seize his property. Like our modern millionaires, there were no limits to his acquisitiveness. He is said to have declared that no man could be deemed rich who could not raise an army out of his own resources. He was the acknowledged head of the financial world of Rome, 'banker, speculator, contractor, and merchant.' Mommsen calculates his fortune at 170,000,000 sesterces, or 1,700,000*l*.

While he made his wealth by all means then known, he used it frugally and wisely, for the purpose of enhancing his power and reputation. His house was always open to strangers, and he would lend money to his friends without interest. Nevertheless, says Plutarch, he demanded its repayment with the greatest rigour the very day it was due, and exacted its return without mercy. He thus had a large number of influential men under his influence, and it is probable that a considerable proportion of senators and public men were in his debt. This was one side only, however, of the picture. Crassus, like most public men at this time, was a many-sided person, and was an excellent speaker, especially in the forensic style, and put this gift at the service of unfortunate citizens without stint. His biographer says there was not a cause, however insignificant, which he would not undertake. This, and his hospitality to the poor, his obliging and affable manners and his faculty of remembering faces, and being able to address large numbers of humble people by name, made him a greater favourite with the crowd than with his equals, who questioned his sincerity, and it was said of him that he was neither a constant friend nor an

irreconcilable enemy. He had a considerable knowledge of history and philosophy, but above other things he was also a competent soldier.

A story is told by Plutarch that during the civil war Sulla sent him to levy troops among the Marsians, and on his asking for a guard, as his way led through the enemy's country, 'I give thee for guards,' said the dictator, 'thy father, thy brother, thy friends, thy relations who have been unjustly and abominably sacrificed, and whose cause I am going to revenge upon their murderers.' These words inflamed the courage of Crassus, who performed his mission successfully, and fought afterwards with distinction. It was he who came up at a critical time when Sulla was hard pressed at the Colline gate, with very seasonable reinforcements, and probably turned the tide. It was in the war against the slaves, however, when Crassus showed to greatest advantage.

'The gangrene of a slave-proletariat gnawed the vitals of all the states of antiquity,' says Mommsen, 'and the more so, the more vigorously they had risen and prospered. . . . Rome naturally suffered from this cause more than any other state of antiquity.' The desolating wars of the previous ten years, and the frightful increase in piracy had flooded the country with a great number of slaves, who were the chief prizes of the marauders and soldiery. Gangs of such slaves under overseers tilled the huge farms which the Roman proprietors and speculators owned, and which grew in area rapidly. These bands of slaves, cruelly treated and badly fed, were turbulent and discontented. They were employed by their masters in private warfare with each other, and largely recruited the brigands who then swarmed in Italy. From among them were drawn the gladiators, who furnished the most brutal sport for human beings probably ever devised. They were kept together in special establishments, mainly about Capua, where they were trained and vigilantly guarded. They belonged to rich men, who owned gladiators as our rich men own racehorses, or were let out on hire by trainers. One of these last, named Lentulus Batuatus, or 'the master

of arms,' kept such an establishment near Capua, consisting chiefly of Gauls and Thracians; among them was Spartacus, a Thracian of great strength, courage, and resources, whose wife was a sorceress. He had once been a soldier, and having deserted had been recaptured and sold as a gladiator, and had persuaded seventy of his companions to escape. With him were associated as leaders two Gauls, Crixus and Oenomaus. Seizing some long knives and some spits from a cook's shop, they, in the year 73 B.C., took refuge on Mount Vesuvius. There they were joined by a large number of fugitive slaves from other properties, and by impoverished men, all suffering from the same malady, the misery caused by the economical conditions of a troubled age, who in Italy have generally taken to brigandage.

The praetor C. Clodius Pulcher was sent against them with an inadequate and ill-trained force of 3,000 men. He tried to entrap the rebels, who were encamped on the mountain, which then, as now, as Strabo describes it, consisted of a crown of lava and ashes, girdled round with woods and vineyards, the upper part having only one approach. By a stratagem the slaves managed to circumvent him, and get behind his men. He was badly defeated, and barely escaped capture. News of their victory spread fast, and the gladiators were now joined by large numbers of the wild herdsmen and shepherds of the Apennines, who so largely recruited the brigands of a later day. Appian probably greatly exaggerates their number, which he puts at 70,000 men.

The insurgents now broke open the *ergastula*, or places where the slaves were lodged at night, and where those suspected of turbulence worked in chains. These *ergastula* were constructed under ground, with narrow openings to let in light, but so high that the slaves could not reach them and thus escape. Niebuhr describes the ruins of such a *ludus gladiatorius* as still to be seen at Pompeii.[1] With men in revolt, driven to fury by such ill-usage and cruelty, it is no wonder that the country side suffered severely from pillage,

[1] Lectures, ii. 431.

arson and rape, wherever they went. Their arms had to be made in homely fashion. Shields were constructed of intertwined osiers covered with skins, while the iron chains they had borne were forged into spear-heads and swords.[1] Badly armed as they were they had the physique and prowess of men trained to fight to the last breath, and apparently this awed the troops who were sent against them, who became demoralised, and two fresh armies which were sent by the praetor Publius Varinius were defeated and one of their commanders killed. Varinius then advanced in person against them, but his soldiers were ill, apparently suffering from malaria, and mutinous, and many of them refused to march. Meanwhile the slaves had broken up their quarters and marched towards Picenza (the modern Vicenza, near Amalfi). There Varinius engaged them, but his men were demoralised and fought badly, and were beaten. The praetor lost his camp, his charger, and his fasces.

These defeats furnished the rebels with better weapons. They now proceeded to storm and ravage some of the fairest towns in Italy. Nola and Nuceria in Campania, Thurii and Metapontum in Lucania, and Consentia in Bruttium. The war was merciless; the masters crucified their slaves whom they recovered; the slaves in reply killed their prisoners or made them fight with each other in gladiatorial fashion.[2]

Things were getting desperate, and in 72 B.C. it was found necessary to send the two consuls L. Gellius and Cn. Corn. Lentulus against the rebels. The slaves now began to quarrel, however, as is the wont of undisciplined armies formed of different nationalities. The Gauls, never very prone to discipline, separated under Crixus, 30,000 strong, and were overwhelmed at Mount Garganus, in Apulia, by the praetor Quintus Arrius, losing two-thirds of their men. It was apparently to this struggle that the story told by Livy, and only preserved, unfortunately, in his epitome, refers, in which he speaks of 35,000 of the insurgents with two of their commanders having been killed, and adds that in the fight

[1] See Long, *Roman Republic*, iii. 37. [2] Mommsen, iii. 359.

five Roman eagles and twenty-six standards were recovered together with five fasces with their axes. Spartacus was more successful. He was clever at stratagems. Thus Frontinus tells us how he on one occasion escaped from a tight corner by tying the dead bodies of men dressed and armed to wooden posts, so that when fires were lighted the Romans at a distance mistook them for living soldiers on guard, and at nightfall he slipped away with his men.

Knowing well that he could not eventually prevail against the organised forces of Rome, he wished to march into the Alpine country, whence his men could return to their old homes in Thrace and Gaul, but his march across the Apennines was stopped by the two consuls, whose forces were divided into two armies. He attacked one after the other and defeated them both, and in grim revenge compelled 300 of his prisoners to destroy each other in a gladiatorial exhibition at a funeral ceremony in honour of Crixus. According to Livy he also engaged and defeated C. Cassius, the propraetor of Cisalpine Gaul, supported by the praetor Cn. Manlius, and 10,000 men, at Mutina (the modern Modena). He now changed his plans, perhaps under pressure from his men, and determined to return to Southern Italy, whither he marched after slaughtering his prisoners and burning his unnecessary impedimenta. He entered Lucania and seized Thurii, where the merchants purchased safety by a kind of blackmail, supplying him with iron and copper to make weapons of, while he tried to create and train a body of cavalry, and secured large numbers of horses from the herds he seized in the great grazing pastures of the south. The Romans were meanwhile getting demoralised in higher quarters, for so loth were men of position to undertake the duty of fighting the slaves that there were not sufficient candidates to fill the annually elected great offices in the year 71 B.C. The murderous war had lasted three years. It was now that Crassus showed himself a man. He became a candidate for the praetorship in 71 B.C., and undertook the command of the large force which was sent to try and finally

crush the devastating swarm of human locusts which was destroying the country. He was given six legions, to which he added the two which had been so frequently defeated, and marched into Picenum.

He sent Mummius ahead to watch the enemy with two legions. The latter, against orders, engaged in a fight, when his men again fled and he had to retire in disgrace. Thereupon, in order to make a sensational example, Crassus revived an old Roman custom, and, taking a cohort of 500 men who had probably first fled, he put to death one man in every ten. By such means he restored discipline to the enervated legionaries. This punishment made his men fear him more than the enemy, and when he presently attacked 10,000 of the latter, who were encamped apart, he killed two-thirds of them.

Spartacus now tried to pass some of his men over into Sicily, where previous rebellions had taken place and the people were more sympathetic, but the pirates whom he had hired for the transit sailed away with his money and left his men on the strand. Crassus meanwhile drove him into the peninsula of Rhegium and enclosed him and his men by building a rampart, thirty-seven miles long, fifteen feet high, and fifteen wide, across the Isthmus between the Gulf of Vibo and that of Scylacaeum. We are told that Spartacus made two desperate sorties in one day, losing 6,000 men on each occasion, while only three Roman soldiers were killed, a statement which is incredible and throws grave doubts on the numbers of the enemy as reported by the patriotic Roman historian Appian. The Slave leader, however, kept up a harassing struggle by frequent sallies, and as a warning he crucified a Roman soldier between the two armies.

The delay and the danger caused increasing harass at Rome, and Pompey, who had just arrived from Spain with his soldiers, was ordered to march and put an end to the business. On hearing this Crassus determined to force an engagement, so that another might not win the laurels he had fought for so hard. Spartacus, however, forced his way

on a dark winter night through his lines with his whole army. Frontinus says he levelled the ditch with the dead bodies of prisoners and cattle. He now went towards Lucania, with Crassus at his heels. He saw, however, that there was no longer any chance, except to turn upon his pursuers and make a last desperate effort.

We are told that when they brought out his charger he killed it, preferring to fight on foot, no doubt to put spirit into his men and to show them that for him now, there was only one more victory or death. As in the previous fight the slaves, who had neither the discipline nor arms of the legionaries, were no match for the latter when well led and when fighting their best, and they were slaughtered in crowds. Plutarch tells us that 12,300 of them were killed, only two of whom had wounds in their backs. The rest fell in their ranks after fighting with desperate valour. Spartacus himself, who had killed two centurions, was wounded in the thigh, sank on his knee, and went on fighting behind his shield until he was killed. His body was not found. Five thousand of his men (probably a greatly exaggerated number) escaped, and were intercepted by Pompey's returning soldiers, and put to the sword. Others fled into the mountains of Bruttium and, dividing into four bands, succeeded *inter alia* in plundering Tempsa, and were also exterminated by Crassus. Six thousand of them who were made prisoners are said to have been crucified on the road from Capua to Rome. We shudder at such a statement, but we must remember that Crassus had to do with a body of ferocious desperadoes driven to madness by cruelty and capable of any crime. It may perhaps be matched by the terrible ruthlessness of the German nobles when they put down the peasants' rebellion in the sixteenth century. The close of the campaign is described by Mommsen as a man-hunt, such as there had never been before; but we may well believe that a considerable number of the slaves escaped and recruited the bands of brigands who afterwards tormented the peninsula. It is a pity that our authorities for this war are so unsatis-

factory and so difficult to reconcile. The campaign had been too disastrous and too galling to Roman pride to encourage the annalists to report it accurately.

Crassus had done the State a signal service and had crushed out a terrible danger. It might suit the panegyrists of Pompey to minimise it, but it cannot be forgotten that the devastating war had lasted for three years, during which one regular force after another had been defeated and we can only guess the real losses of the Romans from the sentence in which Livy's epitome reports the trophies recovered from the rebels in one single fight, and Rome had not had such a potent foe in her very vitals since Hannibal tramped through Italy. Long moralises, not without reason, on the almost incredible fact that, notwithstanding this great object-lesson, it does not seem to have occurred to any Roman public man, not even the most enlightened, to eradicate the cause of all the mischief by dealing with slavery in a statesmanlike way. Domestic slavery then, and for long after, was deemed a necessary and a perfectly righteous and legitimate institution, and no one thought of modifying or doing away with it. We ourselves perhaps cannot affect to wonder much. It is barely a hundred years since we did away with our own slaves, and the institution was defended by some humane men and some far-seeing ones too.

Let us now return to Pompey, whom we left in Spain. When he went thither he went with the confidence of and as the representative of the then dominant party of Sulla, after having helped to put down the insurrection of Lepidus and with the purpose of subduing the remains of the democratic party led by Sertorius. He was now returning in a somewhat different temper and with modified views, for he felt he had not been duly supported by those in power, and he knew that some of the magnates at Rome had corresponded with his desperate enemy, and he had had some angry correspondence with others in regard to their failure to furnish him with sufficient men and resources to carry on his difficult war.

He also seems to have heard rumours while in Spain

(it has been suggested that he had had communications from Caesar), pointing out to him how matters were drifting at the capital, where discontent was growing in consequence of the perversity and arrogance of the ruling caste and of the widespread poverty and destitution which Sulla's fiscal measures had caused, and that the people there were clamouring for their cancelled rights. Their claims were admittedly reasonable, and were likely to appeal to him, for he did not belong to the patrician class by birth himself. At all events we are told that he had written from Spain to the Senate before his return, in the *rôle* of its patron rather than its champion, saying that if the strife had not ceased between the Senate and the people on his return he would himself see to matters. This was not the way the Senate had been accustomed to be addressed by one of its generals.

Plutarch says that as he was marching towards Rome he encountered 5,000 fugitives from the army of Spartacus, who had fled after the latter's defeat by Crassus, and killed them, and he adds that he thereupon wrote to the Senate to say that 'Crassus had beaten the gladiators in a pitched battle, but that it was he who had cut up the war by the roots,'[1] which, if true, shows Pompey in a far from chivalrous aspect.

Both Pompey and Crassus now approached Rome at the head of their armies. Both of them had won a victorious campaign, and Crassus had in reality saved the State when in desperate danger. He was also a much older man, had higher connections, and was much more wealthy. Nor did he spare his wealth, for Plutarch tells us he feasted the people on 10,000 tables and distributed a three-months' ration of corn among them. He only ventured, however, to ask for, and was only granted, an ovation in lieu of a triumph. The word is derived from the fact that the victorious general only sacrificed a sheep (*ovis*) instead of an ox, and, in further distinction to a triumph, he did not ride in a chariot drawn by four horses, was not crowned with laurel, nor had he trumpets sounded before him, but he walked in sandals,

[1] Plutarch, *Lives of Crassus and Pompey.*

attended by flute-players and wearing a myrtle crown.[1] It would appear that the pride of the Romans rebelled against granting a triumph for a victory over their own slaves. Pompey, on the other hand, demanded both a triumph and the consulship. This was asking for what was doubly illegal and contrary to all precedent. He had never served any of the curule offices and was, therefore, by the *Lex Villia Annalis*, precluded from becoming a consul, nor had he yet reached the legal age. On the other hand he had already in the time of Sulla enjoyed a triumph, contrary to precedent, for that honour was also reserved for those who had filled high office; yet he now demanded that he should a second time mount the Capitol in triumph. It is very certain that the Senate would never have broken its greatest safeguards in his case except under durance, but what was to be done when the claimant was encamped at the gate with a victorious army? The position reminds us of Napoleon face to face with the Directory. As a fact, dispensations for the triumph and the consulate were both granted him. Metellus, who had borne more than his share of the Spanish campaign and had fought excellently well, apparently shared in this triumph, although he is hardly named by the chroniclers, and this perhaps mitigated its too personal aspect.

It must have been a cause of chagrin to Crassus, who was very rich and prosperous and had filled all the prescribed curule offices, not only to forego a triumph while his much younger rival was granted one, but to go through the indignity of asking him to permit him to be his colleague. Pompey was only too pleased to put Crassus under an obligation in this fashion, and effusively proclaimed that he would take it as a personal favour to himself if Crassus were accepted as the other consul.[2]

The reluctant consent of the Senate having been secured made the election of the two consuls a certainty, but Pompey who knew and felt that this consent was the consequence not of any friendly feeling on its part but of his popularity with

[1] Plutarch, *Marcellus*. [2] Plutarch, *Pompey*.

the crowd, did not fail to court the latter with all the arts he had at command. He knew well that in the affections of the Senate he stood nowhere compared with Catullus and Lucullus. While the two designated consuls were still encamped with their armies outside the walls a great gathering was summoned there by the tribunes and addressed by Pompey, who had formerly been the protégé of the Senate, and had now become a recruit to the popular side. He promised if he were elected to restore the Tribunician power to the dignity it had had before the time of Sulla, and promised also to cure the venality of the courts and the tyranny of the provincial governors. According to Aulus Gellius (xiv. 7) he also asked his friend M. T. Varro to write him a treatise on the duties of a consul, and what he ought to say and do in the Senate, of which he professed to be quite ignorant.

The two consuls duly entered on their duties in the year 70 B.C. without disbanding their armies, and Pompey, to the distaste of his colleague, whose ties and instincts were those of a rich aristocrat, promised to initiate the promised reforms. This was done, and, by a *Lex Pompeia*, the tribunes again recovered their right to initiate legislation and of appealing to the people when so minded.

In regard to the lists of jurymen, which Sulla had provided should be furnished by the senators alone, a new arrangement was made, by which it was in future to consist one-third of senators and two-thirds of men of equestrian status and of rich plebeians, of whom one-half again must have filled the office of district presidents, or so-called *tribuni aerarii*—that is, they had to pass the ordeal of election, and were purely of plebeian rank. This law was introduced by the praetor Lucius A. Cotta, the brother of the liberal consul who had recently died, and, like him, Caesar's maternal uncle. The great capitalists also secured the advantage which they had so gravely misused, and which had been conceded to them by Gaius Gracchus and was withdrawn by Sulla, of farming the taxes of the province of Asia. Lastly, the censorship

was revived after being in abeyance for twenty-seven years. At least an eighth part of the Senate, sixty-four senators in all, a number hitherto unparalleled, were at once deleted from the roll, including Caius Antonius, formerly unsuccessfully impeached by Caesar, and presumably not a few of the most obnoxious Sullans.[1] This was a very clean sweep of the most important of Sulla's provisions and of his men, and shows how ineffectual his paper guarantees were against two generals with their legions clamouring at the gates of Rome. His constitution had lasted barely eight years. Meanwhile a very heavy blow was struck at the prestige of the oligarchy by Cicero's masterly but savage denunciation of one of its chief men, Verres, for his exactions in Sicily. Although supported by the interest of the Scipios and the Metelli and defended by Hortensius, the consul-designate Verres could not face the charges. He fled and abandoned 45,000,000 sesterces, to be returned to the Sicilians.

The air was still charged with electricity. The two consuls, each of whom commanded a victorious army, did not love each other. Crassus especially must have felt chagrined at seeing his younger rival so much to the front, and it was only by considerable diplomatic tact that they were both persuaded to disband their armies. They then both gave up the right of succession to a consular province after their term of office was over. Pompey probably thought himself too great a person for such a post, and Crassus was too rich to desire it, and loved his Roman house and his influence there too much.

Of the two consuls Crassus was the favourite of the Senate, and Pompey of the people. The latter were highly pleased at Pompey's histrionic mixture of humility and arrogance when he went to claim his exemption from serving in the army. It was the custom of a Roman knight when he had served the prescribed time to lead his horse into the Forum between the censors, and, after having given account of the generals and other officers he had served under and of

[1] Sallust, *Fragments*, i. 68; Mommsen, iv. 380.

his own deeds, to demand his discharge. On such an occasion Pompey was seen coming with all his badges as consul, and leading his own horse by the bridle. He ordered the lictors to make a passage for him, and then led his horse himself to the front of the tribunal. The senior censor then said to him, 'Pompey the Great, I demand of you if you have served all the campaigns required by the law?' He replied, 'I have served them all, and all under myself as general.' The censors thereupon rose to conduct him to his house amidst the plaudits of the crowd. There was something a little ordinary and plebeian in this acting that would not have occurred to a member of the Cornelian House, but it was probably genuine.

Towards the end of their consulate the difference between the consuls had increased rather than diminished. One day a man of equestrian rank, named Caius Aurelius, who had not hitherto interfered in politics, climbed the rostrum in the general assembly, and said that Jupiter had empowered him in a dream to warn the consuls that they must make friends before resigning office. Pompey did not move, but Crassus, who deserves to be remembered for it, offered his hand in a friendly way, and said to the people that he did not feel it derogatory to make advances to Pompey, who had been styled Great while a beardless youth, and had enjoyed two triumphs before he was a senator. Thus reconciled they resigned the consulship.[1] This was on the last day of the year 70 B.C.

Pompey now withdrew into private life. As Mommsen argues he might have had the crown if he had cared to seize it, and in default of that there was nothing for him to do with dignity but to withdraw for a while, and for two years he remained in practical retirement, and seldom spoke in the Senate or Forum, as Crassus continued to do, but he took care to always appear there with a pompous retinue. Meanwhile the Senatorial party found it convenient to conciliate the moneyed class, or *equites*, first by giving up

[1] Plutarch, *Pompey*.

to them, as of right, their ancient privilege of occupying fourteen prominent benches at the theatre, and secondly by agreeing to recall Lucullus, who had fought so well against Mithridates, but whose later administration had been very distasteful to them.

Let us now return to Caesar. One of the things which must strike every student of his career is the late age at which his fame came to him. In explanation of this it should be remembered that, apart from the fact that he was in opposition to the dominant party, the oligarchy at Rome had passed special laws to prevent brilliant young democrats from rushing rapidly into influential positions. A man could do this in the army, where opportunities for personal distinction came early, and once in command of an army he could do what Pompey had just done—namely, force the hands of the Senate and compel them to give him what he pleased to ask for—but Caesar at this time had virtually seen no service in the army except as an aide-de-camp or volunteer. As a civilian his chances came very much later. He might make himself a favourite in the market-place and Forum, or be a leader among the gilded youth of Rome, and in fact he was both, but this road only led slowly to the great offices of State. He seems to have utilised his position as an able and attractive tory-democrat to ingratiate himself with the Roman mob, with whom his family ties gave him a strong position, and Suetonius tells us how *inter alia* he warmly supported the proposition of the Tribune Plautius for an amnesty for his own brother-in-law Lucius Cinna and others compromised in the rebellion of Lepidus, and delivered an oration on the occasion.

Meanwhile, with that keen foresight of what was coming which characterized him, he became a warm champion of Pompey, the man of the hour, whose schemes he seconded and supported, and who was thus put under obligations to him, and he was also found useful by Crassus, whose vast fortune was generally at the service of clever but necessitous and ambitious young men like himself. The thing he most

needed to give him prestige was a seat in the Senate, but an entry to the Senate was not available to him until he had become a quaestor at least, and by the famous *Lex Annalis* already referred to he could not hold this office according to the better opinion until he was 31. It was in fact probably in 69-68 B.C., as soon as he was competent, that he sought and obtained one of the quaestorial chairs, no doubt under the powerful patronage of Pompey and Crassus. The quaestorship was the lowest grade of public office, which carried with it a right of entry to the Senate.

The number of quaestors had been raised by Sulla to twenty, and as the office was an annual one, it meant an addition of that number to the Senatorial ranks every year. Two of them held appointments in Sicily then the granary of Italy, and one held office in each of the other provinces. There were also two urban quaestors, and four quaestors of the fleet. The department of the twentieth quaestor is not known.[1] Their functions were partly fiscal, but the urban quaestors especially also had to do with the water supply, the care of the streets, and other municipal administration of the City. They answered partially also to our Treasury officials when acting in civil matters, and to our quartermasters and paymasters as guardians of the military chest when attached to the armies.

It was while he was a quaestor that Caesar sustained a double domestic loss in the death of his aunt Julia, the widow of Marius, and of his own wife Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, to whom he had been married about sixteen years. It had been customary to make orations at the funeral of elderly matrons as well as of men at Rome. Caesar, in departing from the usual fashion, and making a funeral speech at the obsequies of his young wife, secured further notice and popularity, while in the case of his aunt it gave him a special opportunity, of which he availed himself with his usual dexterity to enhance the fortunes of himself and his party.

[1] Mommsen, iv. 123.

'The family of my aunt,' he said in this speech, 'on one side goes back to the Marcian kings, and on the other to the Immortal Gods, and thus our family unites the sanctity of kings who have dominated over men with the majesty of gods who have ruled over kings.'[1]

This was surely a bold and audacious speech for the well-born democrat to pronounce but he knew the taste of the mob right well. It was not all. In the funeral procession, following the practice of the Julian house,[2] there figured the ancestral images of Aeneas, of Romulus, and of the Alban kings. Not only so, but, as we are expressly told, there was also borne along the wax effigy of Marius—the first time his figure had been seen in Rome since the proscriptions of Sulla.[3]

As quaestor, Caesar was selected and taken with him into Spain by the praetor Antistius Vetus, to superintend the finances of his province, where the young democrat would be sure to find a welcome from the old friends of Sertorius. Caesar did not forget this act of kindness and confidence when he himself became praetor in Spain a few years later, when he nominated the son of Antistius as his own quaestor.

Spain, which had greatly suffered lately, as we have seen, from the long war against Sertorius, was then divided into two provinces—Citerior Spain, afterwards called Tarraconensis, and Ulterior Spain, comprising Baetica and Lusitania, which were roughly separated by the so-called *saltus Castulonensis*, i.e. the Sierras of Nevada and Cazorla.[4] It was Ulterior Spain over which Antistius Vetus was appointed, with his capital at Cordova. The principal towns of the province were united by military roads, and were joined into groups, each one with a chief town in it, where an annual *conventus* or assize was held for the purpose of local administration, presided over by the praetor or his deputy. There were three such assize towns in Lusitania and four in Baetica. The former were Emerita (now Merida), Pax Julia (now

[1] Suetonius, *Caes.* vi.
[2] Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 9.
[3] Plutarch, *Caes.*
[4] *Vie de César*, i. 290.

Beja), and Scalabis, Santarem; the latter were Gades, Cordova, Astigi, and Hispalis (now Cadiz, Cordova, Ecija, and Seville).

Caesar apparently went round the circuits as delegate of the praetor, and, according to Cassius Dio,[1] ingratiated himself with the people by his good sense and equity. He afterwards spoke of the affection he had acquired for the place.[2] *Inter alia*, he visited Gades or Cadiz and the temple of Hercules there, as Hannibal and Scipio, two of his great precursors, had done before. On seeing the figure of Alexander in this temple he is said to have deplored the fact that he had as yet done so little to emulate the great career of the Asiatic conqueror.[3] It will be remembered that he was now about thirty-three years old, and that he had thus reached the age when Alexander had completed his life's work.[4]

He returned to Italy before his term was completed, and on his way home had a conference with the representatives of the Latin colonies in Cisalpine Gaul, which possessed the so-called Latin rights, the *jus Latii* (secured for them by Pompeius Strabo), but were anxious to obtain the full citizenship. It was one of the planks in the platform of the democratic party to extend this full citizenship from the Italians who lived south of the Rubicon to those who lived north of it, the so-called Transpadanes, and it was a part of their policy in which Caesar fully concurred. It is not strange, therefore, that he should have visited and conferred with his political friends. Suetonius hints that he tried to incite them to rebellion as a means of securing their aims, and equivocally bade them dare something (*audendum aliquid* are the words he puts in Caesar's mouth). The scheme, he adds, was frustrated by the prudence of the consuls, who retained the legions raised for service in Cilicia for a while in Rome. That the legions may have been detained in consequence of some effervescence in North Italy is possible, but

[1] Cassius Dio, xliv. 39, 141.
[2] Appian, *Commentaries on the Spanish War*, xlii.
[3] Suetonius, *Caesar*, vii. [4] *Ibid.*

the notion that the young quaestor was of sufficient importance at this time to delay the departure of consular armies, or if he were, that it was any part of his policy now that he was on the high road to the Senate and the Consulate to compromise himself by inciting a revolt, and that, with his habitual prudence and patriotism, he should have involved himself in such a hopeless and unpopular venture as a revival of the Social wars, is incredible, and points to a quite late origin for the story, when everything sinister could be reported and believed of the great Dictator.

It was after his return from Spain, and apparently in the year 67 B.C., that Caesar made another judicious and influential marriage by allying himself with Pompeia, the daughter of Q. Pompeius Rufus (who had been murdered in 88 B.C., and who was probably a kinsman of the great Pompey) and of Cornelia, a daughter of the Dictator Sulla, and a person therefore of very high connections.

Let us now turn again to the affairs of the Republic. I have previously referred to the piracy which at this time prevailed on the southern coasts of Asia Minor, which was put down for a while by P. Servilius Isauricus in a campaign in which Caesar had a part. That pestilent and harassing political disease was not confined, however, to Asia Minor, but was very widely spread in the Mediterranean. The pirates had pillaged the port of Rome itself, Gaeta, and carried off its citizens from Ostia. They had also defeated a Roman fleet under a consul in the open sea.[1] Not only envoys on their way to Rome, but ambassadors of the Republic itself had fallen into their hands, and had had to be ransomed They threatened to destroy the commerce of Rome, and to cut off its supplies. 'They not only attacked ships,' says Plutarch, 'but islands and maritime towns.' Many people distinguished for wealth, birth, and capacity joined in their depredations. They had in various places arsenals, forts, and watch-towers, all strongly fortified. Their ships were not only well built and skilfully manned, but were gaily adorned

[1] Plutarch, *Pompey*, xxiv.

with gilded poops, purple canopies, and silver-plated oars. Music and drunken revels were their constant amusement, generals were made prisoners, and towns held to ransom. They had a thousand galleys, and were masters of 400 cities. Temples which had hitherto been inviolable were plundered. Among them such fanes as that of Apollo Didymus at Claros, that of the Cabiri in Samothrace, of Ceres at Hermione, of Aesculapius at Epidaurus, those of Poseidon on the Isthmus, at Taenarus and in Calauria, those of Apollo at Actium and in the island of Leucas, and those of Hera (Juno) at Samos, Argos, and the promontory of Lacinium.

They offered strange sacrifices, as those at Olympia in Pamphylia, and those to Mithra. It is a notable fact to remember that they were the first to introduce the Mithraic worship into the Roman Pantheon. They did not limit their actions to the water, but plundered the villas near the coast. They thus carried off two praetors, Sextilius and Bellinus, in their purple robes, and with their lictors, and compelled Antonius, who had been honoured with a triumph, to redeem his daughter, whom they had captured. Their power extended over all the Tuscan sea, and they intercepted Roman trade and navigation, until a famine was apprehended. There was only one man whose prestige and skill were seen to be equal to facing the difficulty of putting down this aggressive piracy—that was Cneius Pompey, now living in retirement, who was trusted as an honest, reliable, patriotic, and skilful soldier. The suspicious Roman crowd would entrust Pompey alone with sufficient power to carry through such a difficult work, but as we have seen, he was distasteful to and feared by the Senate. It could not tolerate a general who was not docile to itself in matters outside his profession, and who had appealed to the crowd against it at the time of his election to the Consulate.

The consequence was that the Senate was now brushed entirely aside for the first time in its history in concerting a great administrative act for the salvation of the Empire. An intimate friend of Pompey's, the tribune Aulus Gabinius,

boldly proposed, in view of the desperate position of things, and without mentioning any name, that one person of consular rank should have absolute jurisdiction during three years over the whole Mediterranean as far as the Pillars of Hercules, and over all Roman territory for fifty miles inland from the coast, and that the money in the Treasury should be put at his disposal. Appian adds that he was also empowered to raise money in the provinces. Rome itself furnished 6,000 talents. He was further to have power to equip 200 ships of war, to raise as many men as he wanted, and to nominate fifteen senators as his *legati*, or deputy commanders.

No such power for so long a period had been committed to one man before by the Romans. It was equivalent to a suspension of the Senate itself, and of all constitutional government. The proposal was received with a burst of fury by the patricians, for all knew that Pompey was the person designated.[1] Gabinius rushed from the Senate to save his life, and took the issue before the assembly of the people, which was crowded to suffocation, and so loud was the shouting that a crow which was flying over the Forum at the time is said to have dropped dead at the shock of the sound. The old patrician Catulus, who was highly esteemed, and who spoke respectfully of Pompey, tried to explain how dangerous such a concession would be. The famous orator Hortensius supported him, but the people would not heed them. The vote passed by acclamation, and Pompey was thus constituted for three years sovereign of the Roman world.

The proposal was vigorously supported in the Senate by L. Quinctius, who seven years before had fought hard for the restoration of the Tribunician power, and also by Caesar, who no doubt, as Froude says, genuinely admired Pompey at this time as a distinguished soldier, and an upright, disinterested, man. Cicero, in his famous oration on the Manilian law, delivered in 66 B.C., and in his defence of C. Cornelius, both delivered before his judgment was qualified by subservience

[1] Plutarch, *Pompey*.

to the Senate, declared that the Gabinian law had secured the safety and restored the honour of the Roman State, and he justified the exceptional violence displayed in carrying it as having been in the public interest. The argument seems in itself unanswerable since the proposal was in effect a measure of public safety, but is very notable as coming from such a person as Cicero.

What public opinion thought of the decision may be tested by the effect the news had on the Roman produce market, where there was an immediate fall in the price of provisions. Pompey received his unprecedented honour with becoming and apparently genuine modesty, entering the city by night to avoid a demonstration. He had previously, and perhaps not quite so honestly, pressed the Senate not to impose on him this dangerous service, as he declared he had done and suffered enough for the public. The result of the confidence of the crowd was that by the following day's vote his contingent of ships was raised to 500. He was given 120,000 foot soldiers and 5,000 horse, with permission to appoint twenty-five commanders of senatorial rank with praetorian insignia and powers with two quaestors, and 144,000,000 sesterces, or 1,400,000*l.*, was paid over to him from the public chest.[1]

Pompey was thus furnished with the amplest means to adopt any device he pleased to put down the pirates. He seems indeed to have laid out his plans with great skill and foresight, and perhaps no event in his life shows his practical ability to greater advantage than this struggle with an elusive enemy. He divided the Mediterranean from Gibraltar to the Propontis into thirteen districts, over each of which he put a commander who had an adequate fleet, and he gave each commander ample initiative. The result was magical. The pirates, who were probably for the most part the victims of the Roman tax-collectors and of the Roman commanders, and who doubtless treated their *rôle* as a perfectly fair guerilla reply to the better organised war of the Roman officials, seem

[1] Mommsen, iv. 388–9.

to have fled in large numbers, while a great number of others with their families surrendered, and Pompey treated them with becoming leniency. While he captured 120 of their fortresses in Cilicia and its borders, and burnt 1,300 of their ships, he killed 10,000 of the pirates and captured 20,000; he did not sell his prisoners, as was then the fashion, but planted them in depopulated towns, such as Soli, whose name was changed to Pompeiopolis, Adana, Epiphania, Mallus, Dyme in Achaia, and also in Calabria; and Vergil[1] tells us how, when a boy, he had seen near Tarentum one of these pirates, who had lived happily on the lands which Pompey had granted him. In forty days he had cleared the sea of Tuscany and the Balearic Islands, and in forty-nine days more the Eastern Mediterranean; ninety days sufficed to eradicate this pest, and to put down what had been rapidly destroying the wealth and resources of the Empire, and the Mediterranean was again safe. Lucan[2] fancifully says that 'Pompey cleared all the seas of pirates before Cynthia twice filled her orb.' It reminds us of the result in more recent times when the Algerine and Riff pirates' nests were destroyed by English and other forces, when we read that Publius Clodius, the Roman admiral who had been stationed in Cilicia and a multitude of other individuals carried off by the pirates, some of them long believed at home to be dead, obtained their pardon.

Let us now again turn to Caesar. The year after he had filled the office of quaestor—*i.e.* in 687 A.V.C., 67 B.C.—he was appointed an overseer (*curator*) of the Appian Way, which led from Rome to Capua.[3] The due care of the public roads was a ready way to popular favour, and Caesar increased the obligation by taking part of the cost upon his own shoulders. Two years later—*i.e.* in 65 B.C.—he secured a more important post, and one in which it was possible to play the popular favourite more easily. He was, in fact, appointed a curule aedile, with Bibulus for a colleague. M. Calpurnius Bibulus

[1] *Georgics*, iv. 125–148. [2] *Pharsalia*, ii. 577.
[3] Plutarch, *Caesar*, v.; Suet. *Caesar*, x.

was a vain and ambitious man belonging to the rich trading class, and prepared, like many *nouveaux riches* we have known, to spend his money cheerfully in order to secure the companionship of those of blue blood, and he was no doubt highly pleased to have so popular and attractive a colleague, and quite prepared to spend his money freely without asking questions about the equal division of the cost. Caesar, on his side, was determined to make the occasion one of splendid advertisement. He was always extravagant, and he now seems to have borrowed money unsparingly in order to make his year of office memorable with the crowd, which loves pageantry and show, and he was also determined to occupy a place of unmistakable prominence as compared with his *bourgeois* colleague.

The position of a curule aedile (so called from the chair with crooked legs on which he sat) offered him every opportunity. The aediles were four in number, two curule aediles and two plebeian. The former had the privilege of sitting in curule chairs, wore the praetexta or white gown, bordered with purple, and had the *jus imaginum* like the higher magistrates. They had the care of the sacred edifices, especially the Temple of Jupiter, the tribunals of justice, the city walls and the theatres, and organised the festivals; in fact, they superintended all the expenses relating to the religion, defence, and embellishment of the city. The *aediles plebis* were of altogether inferior rank, and looked after the baths, aqueducts, sewers, streets and highways, had the custody of the records and archives in the temple (*aedes*), of Ceres, and superintended the affairs of commerce, police, and the supply of provisions. The cost of the festivals during their year of office was borne by the curule aediles out of their own pockets. Never before was such profusion and extravagance displayed.

The great square called the Comitium, the Forum or market-place, the Basilicas or law courts, as well as the Capitol itself, were all lavishly decked, while provisional porticoes were built on the Capitol to contain the treasures

which were exhibited (*exposita*) to the public. 'For the purpose,' says Long, 'of this exhibition it was the practice of wealthy Romans who discharged the curule aedileship to beg borrow, or steal valuable statues and pictures from the Greek cities. . . . The Ludi Megalenses or Megalesia, in honour of Cybele, the Great Mother of the Gods, who was brought from Pessinus in Asia to Rome, were celebrated in April, and the Ludi Romani or Magni in September.' Caesar had some of the plays of Terence played there. The expenses of the games and of the wild-beast shows (*venationes*) on this occasion were jointly shared by Caesar and Bibulus. Caesar paid for some things himself, however, including the gladiatorial shows, but he so contrived matters that he also got the credit of the joint expenditure. His colleague made a tolerable joke when he said that he had had the same bad luck as Pollux, for there was in the Forum a temple dedicated to the twin brothers Castor and Pollux, but it was always named Castor's temple.[1]

According to Plutarch, 320 couples of gladiators were exhibited on this occasion by Caesar. These gladiatorial displays were in origin religious and funereal, the gladiators representing the human victims sacrificed at the funeral pyre in earlier times, and Caesar's great show of the kind was professedly in honour of his father. According to Pliny, all the weapons and armour employed by the gladiators on this occasion were of silver, as were the heads of the lances with which the wild beasts were killed.[2]

The extravagance and profuseness of the display were much disliked by the conservative and old-fashioned senators, but they were much more troubled and exasperated by a more audacious departure which Caesar made. His great object at this time was to exalt the reputation of his party of which he wished to become the coping-stone. Of that party his uncle Marius had been the most conspicuous hero, as he was the most detested of men by the aristocrats, whom he had so savagely ill-used. We can only measure the hatred for him felt by them by that of the French Royalists for

[1] Long, *op. cit.* iii. 220.

[2] *Hist. Nat.* xxiii. 3.

Robespierre. The monuments of his great victories had been torn down and his ashes scattered by Sulla, and no one had for a long time dared to exalt the name of the soldier who had destroyed the Cimbri and saved his country.

'Caesar now caused,' says Plutarch, 'new images of Marius to be privately made, together with a representation of his victories (probably symbolic figures being meant), adorned with trophies, the figures glistening with gold, and inscribed with the achievements and victories of his great relative.' There was also a figure of Minerva putting a crown on the head of Marius. The new memorials were furtively placed in the Capitol at night, and the oligarchs, who hated the memory of Marius with positive frenzy, were infuriated at the daring act of the aedile, but they did not venture to intervene, for, like Napoleon's, after his death at St. Helena, the name of Marius had recovered a certain magic influence with the Roman crowd. They had forgotten or forgiven his cruelties and his follies. His veterans, who had fought with him through his campaigns, like the old pensioners of the Invalides, kept up the cult, and we are told the latter now came forward in tears to salute the honoured relics of their own glorious commander, and sang the praises of Caesar as his worthy kinsman. We do not read of these memorials of Marius having been again removed.

Plutarch says that while these festivities were in progress the Senate assembled, and perhaps its most reputable member, Lutatius Catulus, rose and attacked Caesar's methods of what he deemed political debauchery. He said that he no longer assailed the commonwealth subterraneously but openly. Caesar, however, defended himself so well that the Senate was with him.[1] What is perfectly plain is that by his audacity in this matter and by his effusive extravagance Caesar had concentrated upon himself in an unmatched way the gaze of the crowd, and had become the most prominent and best known figure in Rome, as he already was the favourite and hero of the democratic party. It had cost him large sums, no doubt.

[1] Plutarch, *Caesar*, vi.

It is pretty certain, in fact, that in the process he had exhausted his paternal patrimony, and had borrowed largely from those who foresaw that his career was now assured. Among them it would seem was Crassus, the millionaire banker and money-lender, who forestalled the rich Jews of our time in securing social advantages and aristocratic friends by putting great people under monetary obligations to them. Caesar's lavish extravagance at this time is referred to by Plutarch, who, however, makes the hyperbolic statement that before he had obtained any public office he was in debt to the extent of 1,300 talents.

NOTE.—In the previous paper I followed the current opinion shared by most historians of Rome that Marius was by origin a peasant proprietor, or perhaps even a ploughman ; thus Mommsen calls him the son of a poor day labourer (*op. cit.* Eng. ed. 1894, iii. 452). This seems to be an exaggeration. The question has been analysed at some length by Madvig, whose conclusion that he belonged to an equestrian family is accepted by Ferrero. Diodorus Siculus, xxxiv. 35 fr. 38, and Plutarch, *Marius*, 3 and 13, tells us that he came from an equestrian—*i.e.* from a *bourgeois*—family, while Velleius Pat., ii. 11, says of him *natus equestri loco*, which has been quite arbitrarily, as Madvig shows, altered into *natus agresti loco* to equate the statement with later tradition (see Ferrero, Eng. ed. i. 59 note). On the other hand, it is curious that Plutarch should state that, like Quintus Sertorius and Lucius Mummius, Marius had no cognomen (Plutarch, *Marius*).

THE ECLIPSE OF THE YORKES.

By BASIL WILLIAMS, M.A.

Read January 16, 1908.

In one of his greatest novels Balzac describes the sudden accession to fortune of César Birotteau, the hairdresser, and his lamentable fall, due to overweening confidence and neglect of the business to which he owed his elevation. It is the tragedy of the man who rests too long upon his laurels, and has failed to learn life's lesson, that a breathing space to prepare for further effort is the only rest possible for one who would not slip back in the struggle. Such tragedies are common, though it requires a Balzac, a Shakespeare, or an Æschylus to make them manifest. Sometimes, however, they may be dimly perceived in the utterances of the victims, themselves barely conscious of the significance of the facts which they relate.

Among the valuable sources of information on the political history of the eighteenth century is the collection of manuscripts belonging to the first two earls of Hardwicke and presented by the family to the British Museum. Most of the volumes contain notes on old law cases, letters on the politics of the day, and State papers relating to foreign affairs or domestic intrigues, all useful to the historical student, but otherwise of no immediate human interest. One volume,[1] however, stands out by itself, containing all the elements of the most poignant tragedy. It is a collection of memoirs and letters relating to the history of the Yorke family between the years 1760 and 1770, written by the principal

[1] Add. MS. 35428.

actors in the story. This material has been quarried by the industrious author of the first Lord Hardwicke's life, and by Sir George Trevelyan and other writers, but no one seems to have noticed how complete a story the volume forms in itself. It is, in a word, the picture of a great family's arrogant success and self-sufficiency turned in ten short years to hopeless failure and loss of honour; and the fact that the story is brought out in unconscious simplicity by members of this very family only adds to its tragic irony. The volume might well be published as it stands, with a few explanatory comments; meanwhile an attempt will be made in this paper to indicate the story, allowing the writers to speak as far as possible for themselves.

First a few words of introduction on the history of the Yorkes before 1760. The family fortunes were founded by Philip Yorke, the son of a provincial attorney, who was born in 1690, and became successively Solicitor-General at thirty, Attorney-General, Chief Justice of the King's Bench and Baron Hardwicke, Lord Chancellor in 1737, and Earl of Hardwicke in 1754. In 1757 he was no longer Chancellor, but still attended Cabinet Councils in Pitt's ministry. A great and sound lawyer, and a safe unenterprising statesman with a strong belief in reasonable liberty for the people and in their government by certain select Whig families, he was well chosen by Walpole for his policy of repose. During the years succeeding Walpole's fall his imperturbable common sense and his tact made him an indispensable member of ministries, which always contained the foolish Duke of Newcastle and often no one else of much superior capacity. The greatest proof of his worldly wisdom and mother wit is that Newcastle, with all his distrust of talents greater than his own, always consulted him, and even up to the last submitted to his reproofs and his judgment. His wisdom was not unrewarded. During his thirty-seven years of office he amassed an immense fortune, and, by purchasing the great country estate of Wimpole in Cambridgeshire, secured the position he had always coveted in the ranks of the Whig landed nobility. But not content

with his own power and wealth, he cherished the ambition of handing down to his family a position unassailable in the government of England. The eldest son, Viscount Royston, was provided through his father's influence with a rich sinecure in the Exchequer and with the post of lord-lieutenant of Cambridgeshire, and he married the Marchioness Grey, a peeress in her own right. Charles, the second son, became Solicitor-General at thirty-five. The third, Joseph, was a major-general at thirty-four and his country's representative at the Hague. John held two sinecures, and the youngest son, James, who took orders, became a dean when little over thirty. Moreover Lord Anson, who had married one of the Chancellor's daughters, largely owed his appointment as First Lord of the Admiralty in Pitt's great ministry to this connection. But Hardwicke was not content with planting out his children in favourable soil and then leaving them to grow by themselves. On the contrary, he encouraged them to look upon him as the great arbiter in all their difficulties, and to rely upon his prudent counsels instead of on their own judgment. For example, the lord-lieutenant writes to his father to know what he should do about Mr. Pitt's circular relating to the militia, and Lord Hardwicke gives him the fullest directions. The solicitor-general, as will appear hereafter, consults the head of the family on his own legal opinions. Joseph, the minister at the Hague, guilty of some indiscretion, is protected from Mr. Pitt's just and terrible wrath by his father's bland arts of management. That they form one great family, which must stand or fall together and must look for guidance from its head, is the essence of the old lord's teaching to his children. What he failed to show them was that he himself had risen by hard work and good service to the State. Moreover, having been well-nigh supreme at the Council Board for so many years himself, he almost unconsciously handed down to his children the belief that they were also indispensable to the common weal and, apart from any exertions of their own, had incontestable claims to honour and position.

Such then was the state of the Yorke family in 1760, the fourth year of Pitt's great ministry and the last of George II.'s reign, a time of unexampled splendour in the history of England. The first paper in the volume of family records is 'A Memorial of Family Occurrences from 1760 to 1770 inclusive,' written in January 1771 by the Lord Chancellor's eldest son, by that time second earl. It opens with a picture of the family in all its glory, hardly inferior to that of Agamemnon when Clytemnestra spreads in his path the carpets too gorgeous and too costly for mortal feet.

'At the beginning of the first of these years our family was in a situation as honourable, as distinguished and as advantageous as can well be imagined. That incomparable man, my Father, though in no employment, had the full confidence and esteem of the Crown and of the better part of the Nation. He was a Cabinet Counsellor, and, though Sir Robert Henley held the Seals, had the lead and management of the House of Lords as far as the public business was concerned. Lord Anson, my Brother-in-Law, was at the head of the Admiralty, and directed the business of that department with an ability and success unknown to former times. From the lively, chearful, and amiable disposition of my Sister, her house was rendered very agreeable not only to our family, but to all Lord Anson's friends and dependants, who were very numerous, and I shall ever remember with pleasure and gratitude the many happy days and hours which I spent in that Society. My second Brother, Mr. Yorke, was high in the opinion of his profession, getting forward in it daily in the office of Sollicitor General, in which he may be said to have had the labouring[1] oar, and even then destined by every body for the Great Seal as soon as it became decent and practicable to carry so young a man so far. My third Brother, Joseph Yorke, was Minister at the Hague, trusted with the most secret parts of foreign correspondence on both sides of the water, and intimately connected with his own family. I say

[1] 'The preparing reports for which the King's lawyers are called upon by various references was entirely left to him by Sir Charles Pratt.'

nothing of myself or my other Brothers, who partook of the many *agrémens* and Benefits which arose from this situation; at least I can say for one that I was truly sensible of the advantages we enjoyed, for which of course we were sufficiently envied by the rest of the world.'

Then came domestic losses, the first hints of impending doom, but still no decline in the family's material prosperity.

'The first alloy to this scene of domestic felicity was the death of Lady Anson, carried off by a malignant Fever in May that year. It was a heavy blow on all of us; she was the Life and Soul of our Societies, was always desirous to please, and capable of doing it. Whatever failings she had (as none are exempt) were totally eclipsed by her superior accomplishments; and she had a fund of humanity and benevolence in her temper which exerted itself in serving many worthy and distressed objects. Indeed, as far as she was able, she made it a rule of conduct to oblige *all* who came in her way, and justly to provoke or offend none. Lord Anson bore this loss with great philosophy, though he was deeply afflicted, and his house never could forget the chearful and lively sunshine (if I may use the expression) which she spread over it. Scarcely had we dried up our tears for this melancholy and unexpected event, when another happened that very year in October, which produced consequences to our Family of a very different nature—I mean the death of the good old King George II. in the fulness of years and glory. In the beginning of the new reign no apparent alteration happened in our situation; we were even cajoled and courted in the first weeks of it. Mr. Yorke had an audience of the King within the first twenty-four hours of his accession, and was desired to hasten my Father up to town. Lord Bute made an offer to the latter of the President's place very soon after his coming up, and said the King considered Lord Granville as worn out, and was determined to lay him aside. My Father absolutely declined the proposal, assured Lord Bute that he chose to serve his Majesty out of office; that if his Family partook at any time of the King's goodness it was all he desired or

wished for at his time of life. An honorable Cushion at the Privy Council was bestowed on me, upon the first intimation that it would be agreable. Mr. John Yorke was soon brought into the board of Trade. I think that very winter when Lord Sandys was appointed first commissioner, Sir Joseph had the red Ribbon, and was in the course of 1761 appointed Plenipotentiary to Augsburg and Ambassador Extraordinary to the States General. In short, the Exterior was fair and plausible, but in reality Lord Bute had the sole power and influence, and he was determined to work out the old servants of the Crown as soon as he could possibly bring it about, notwithstanding the many difficulties which seemed to stand in the way of it. How he accomplished this great task which has made him ever since so unhappy a man, is not within the compass of this Paper. . . . It will suffice to mention here that Lord Bute principally availed himself, and with great art and finesse, of the dissensions between the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt; that he played off one against the other occasionally till he had got rid of the popular minister, and when that was compassed, he strengthened himself in the Cabinet by bringing in Lord Egmont and Mr. Grenville, and never left intriguing and undermining till he had rendered it impracticable for the old Duke to continue in office with credit or honor. I resume now the thread of our domestic history by mentioning the death of my poor Mother in November, 1761. She was greatly broken by infirmities, but retained a strong sense, a quick comprehension, and a sincere piety to the last. Her loss deeply afflicted my father, as he lived with her in the strictest confidence and harmony, and he expressed his grief in an elegant Latin epigram the next time he went to Wimple alone, without his usual companion.'

By this time the King and Bute had drawn their own moral from Pitt's ministry. The Great Commoner, it is true, had been unable to rule without the support of the Whig clique which Newcastle led and Hardwicke advised, but he had proved that it owed its importance rather to voting power than to any capacity for administration. The King,

meaning to rule as absolutely as Pitt had ruled, and to be even less dependent on the whims of office-holders, carried the war into the very stronghold of patronage. At first his success was rapid. By midsummer, 1762, Newcastle was dismissed, Anson was dead, and, to resume the words of the family chronicler, 'our family had lost all favour at Court; my Father was left out of the Cabinet Council on the Duke of Newcastle's resignation without having it left to his option; my Brothers indeed remained in their employments, but it was understood with regard to the two at home that their continuance was only present, and till it was seen more clearly what turn things would take.'

From this point a blind folly seemed to impel the family to its ruin. Wilkes, the irresponsible demagogue who flouted the King in his famous No. 45 of the *North Briton*, to some extent played the King's own game by creating further confusion and uncertainty among the old Whig families; for they were quite unprepared to deal with the novel questions raised by his conduct. Unfortunately, Charles Yorke, by that time Attorney-General, was obliged to commit himself to an opinion as to the legality of the measures adopted by ministers. With characteristic distrust of his own judgment he sought the advice of his learned father; but fate was against him.

'Webb, then Sollicitor to the Treasury, brought it [the Attorney-General's opinion] to my Father in Grosvenor Square, who, after reading it over, said to him: "Pray, Mr. Webb, carry it back to my Son and desire him forthwith to come to me." Webb was too eager and officious towards his new superiors to comply with the request of his old Patron and Benefactor, and went with the Paper directly to the Secretaries of State, and in consequence of it Mr. Wilkes was apprehended. My Father had not the least doubt of the Legality of the opinion, and always maintained it firmly and strongly to the day of his death, but he thought it was a delicate Question for the Crown Lawyers to give written opinions upon, and that the Attorney and Sollicitor should

have talked with the King's servants first, and endeavoured to conduct the business in a way less liable to clamor. I had this anecdote from Mr. Yorke the winter after. As the Session of Parliament which was to meet in November, 1763, approached, the Opposition grew more inflamed on this point of Privilege and the other appendages to Wilkes's case. Lord Hardwicke was embarrassed about the conduct of his Family. The Duke of Newcastle and his other Friends, he knew, strongly wished for their resignations. He did not in his own Judgment approve the plan of conduct which was formed by opposition, and detested such brutal and personal attacks as those with which the *North Briton* abounded; neither did he think it becoming at his time of Life to counteract those ideas of Law and Order which he had been labouring all his life to establish. At last, however, the point of honor prevailed, and in compliance with his sentiments, my Brothers, Mr. Yorke and Mr. John Yorke, gave up their employments just before the Parliament met.'

It is difficult to understand the reason for Charles's resignation at this juncture except on the assumption of his father's overmastering influence, for the 'point of honor' is not obvious. He had definitely, and it appears quite sincerely, approved of the ministerial policy in the Wilkes case, then the only question at issue; and, as his brother, wise after the event, points out, he pleased neither side by withdrawing at this stage:—

'I have often since thought it would have been the wisest measure if Mr. Yorke had either resigned when so many of the Duke of Newcastle's Friends were turned out for voting against the Peace, or not at all. In the former case he would have had merit with them, and not been involved in the troublesome prosecution about Wilkes; in the latter, he would only have continued to support his opinion in office, which for his own credit he was obliged to do out of it, and his line of promotion in the Profession would never have been broken. Whereas by the part he took, neither side thought itself much obliged to him. But, as I said before, the point

of honor and our good Father's inclination turned the scale.'

Thus the whole family was now left stranded except for Sir Joseph, who, as his brother plaintively remarks, always kept free from dissensions at home, and contented himself with the quiet and efficient performance of his duties at the Hague. Finally in March the old Earl died, weary and somewhat discouraged. When he had gone, the family could safely be treated with contumely. The writer of this chronicle, now Earl of Hardwicke, sorrowfully notes :—

'I well remember that when I was presented at the Levee as Earl of Hardwicke, the King took no more notice of me than if I had just come out of Bedfordshire for the winter, which, considering my then situation, the late Archbishop when I related it to him said, with more warmth than generally fell from him, "was very shocking."'

One unsatisfied ambition, however, the family even in its most depressed condition, kept steadily in view. The father had been Chancellor for twenty years, the great Chancellor Somers was a connection by marriage, and it had always been the father's hope and the family's settled conviction that Charles the lawyer would succeed to what they regarded almost as a family office. Even now there seemed a very good prospect that this ambition might be fulfilled. Trained in all the traditions of the office, a law officer when most men are barely earning a fee, and undoubtedly the most brilliant of an able family, Charles even in retirement might well hope with his brothers that a turn of the wheel would bring him the coveted preferment. And during the next years chances came to the family which it needed but a little resolution to turn to account. But with the old Earl's death not merely public spirit but worldly craft seemed to have deserted them. Accustomed as they had been to look to him in everything, his death had left them like a rudderless ship in a stormy sea, for 'he died,' his son laments, 'without leaving any *Testament politique* for our future conduct, or taking any formal leave of us.' During the next few years the family record is

one of missed opportunities. In the winter of 1764–65 Charles was offered his choice of the Mastership of the Rolls or of the post of Attorney-General. His sympathies were rather with the Government than against it, and yet in spite of the King's insistence he was afraid, and refused, though at the same time he put himself under an obligation to the Court by accepting a patent of precedence, useful to him only in his profession.[1] In 1765 a better and more honorable chance occurred. The King, thinking anything better than Grenville's pedantry, handed over the government to the Whig families under Rockingham. Charles even now spent some weeks of hesitation before agreeing to be Attorney-General, and then only on a distinct promise that he should be Chancellor next session. John also came into office at the Admiralty.

On this occasion the eldest brother, Lord Hardwicke, displayed the family indecision and dread of responsibility to the full. Offered the Board of Trade, he refused, chiefly on the ground that in that office he would have to take a strong line on the difficult question of the American Stamp Act. Next year he had an even better offer of the Secretaryship of State, and he devoted a separate memorandum, contained in the volume of family records, to an account of his reasons for rejecting this also. It is worth transcribing in part as an illustration of the narrow selfishness and absence of consideration for any public interest which at this time characterised the family's calculations.

'The offer of the Seals was made me in form by the Marquis of Rockingham not long before the Whitsun Holydays in May 1766. There was great temptation in the

[1] The President (Dr. Hunt) reminded the meeting at which this paper was read of the detailed version of this transaction contained in Geo. Grenville's Diary (*Grenville Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 525–532). Charles Yorke's indecision, his anxiety to be begged to accept what he had himself asked for, and the arrogance of his pretensions are there brought out with ironical simplicity. From Grenville's account it is equally obvious that Charles drew back at the last moment not from any conscientious scruples in joining the Government, but from fear of standing ill with the old Whigs, such as the Duke of Newcastle, with whom he was connected.

object; the dignity and Figure the employment gave were self-evident; the opportunities it afforded of serving one's friends were considerable; the business was of a nature for which I had always had a sort of predilection, and in which I had been conversant as far as theory and study could carry me. I was tolerably well acquainted with the modern state of Europe, and by the confidence which my Father had for some years reposed in me had been kept well informed of the most important anecdotes of a very long period. But on the other side there were strong and cogent objections to my undertaking so great a Branch. I could not flatter myself that my experience of the world (having never conversed largely in it and lived a good deal amongst my books) was sufficient to steer me through the Rocks and Quicksands of a Court and Public Life; and I thought myself rather too much on the other side of 40, and had lived too much in my own way to begin acting a new part in it. I knew that a constant load of business would hurry my spirits in a way which would affect my health, and I was apprehensive that as the weight of supporting the King's measures in the House of Lords would lie upon my shoulders, I was not enough used to Parliamentary speaking to go through such a course of political altercation. Over and above these considerations I was very diffident of the strength and stability of that administration; though I was not aware and perhaps at that time it was not intended that so short a period should be put to it.

'On the weighing the whole matter as well as I could and talking it over with some of my friends (amongst whom none but the *Duke of Newcastle* and *Lord Grantham* strongly encouraged me to accept) I soon determined to decline this great offer as I had done the former.

'When I communicated this Resolution to Lord Rockingham he received it with much candor; admitted that I was best able to judge for myself, though he could have wished my determination had been otherwise; but expressed his hopes that I would consent to be called to the Cabinet Council,

where he was pleased to say I should be of use, and might take no greater share of the business upon me than was agreeable. I readily consented to this last proposal, which was to me very flattering, and had as many of the *agrémens* of the greater offer as I wished to enjoy, and none of the supposed difficulties, and I was in hopes that my being of the cabinet might tend to facilitate my Brother's promotion to the Great Seal, and the confidential Information which I should receive from it would be of service in the station he then filled, at the same time that his knowledge and abilities would be of use to me.'

In a subsequent interview with the King, which Lord Hardwicke describes at length, he tried unsuccessfully to obtain a definite statement with regard to Charles's prospects of the Chancellorship, but at the end, delighted at having escaped responsibility for himself, exclaimed joyfully :—

'I verily believe had he pressed me to take the Seals with any Earnestness before I left the Closet I should have accepted out of pure Duty and Zeal—*sed me servavit Apollo.*'

During the first ten years of George III.'s reign hardly any administration lasted much beyond a year, and in July 1766 the Rockingham ministry followed the fate of its predecessors. New hope came to the country when Pitt, now Lord Chatham, returned to form his third ministry. For Chancellor he chose his old and faithful friend Pratt, now Lord Camden, who, as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, had done good service to the cause of liberty in the dark days of 1763. The choice was eminently just, though none the less disappointing to Charles. Still he was young, and as attorney could have done good service in the House of Commons. However, he and the rest of the family chose to nurse their grievances. Lord Hardwicke, with shameless candour, expounds their selfish views, in which their one remaining loyalty is to the supposed interests of the family.

'One of the terms insisted upon by Lord Chatham was that his favorite Lord Campden should have the Seals, and that being agreed to and no compensation or equivalent pro-

posed to my Brother, he thought himself in honor obliged to resign the office of Attorney-General. Lord Chatham endeavoured to avert him from his purpose in a smooth and flattering conversation at Hampstead, urging the services he could do and the weight he carried in the House of Commons. When Mr. Yorke had his audience of the King, he complained of the force put upon him, and seemed concerned at his resignation, but made no Proposal ; except once in a dry way, "There is the Common Pleas for you." "Surely, Sir, said my Brother, your Majesty will not wish me to take it in a manner different from that in which Lord Campden has enjoyed it," meaning without a peerage—to which the King made no answer ; nor do I think the matter was pressed so far as it might have been. Certain it is that such a distinction with the Common Pleas would have made Mr. Yorke happy, that he would have accepted it with thankfulness, and that it would have been a political as well as an honorable measure in the King to have granted it. In consequence of this ill-usage of Mr. Y., Mr. J. Yorke very disinterestedly and quite spontaneously gave up his seat at the Admiralty. . . . So when this great change was effected, every friend and relation we had of consequence (Sir Joseph excepted) being out, we were of course considered as disobliged men and thrown into the Ranks of opposition. I pressed Mr. Y. often to have exposed the behaviour of the Court towards him, and to have taken a warmer part on some occasions in Parliament, but he always hung back as to personalities and political appeals to the Public, and I thought no other methods could make an impression on the unfeeling and ungrateful.'

Though stranded thus a second time within three years, the family had still sufficient interest to re-enter Parliament in a body at the general election of 1768. But with characteristic languor, 'when the Elections for a new Parliament came on in the spring of 1768, Mr. Y. preferred a quiet election for the University of Cambridge to one for the county, which as Parties then stood might have been attended with trouble. The Duke of Newcastle gave him his interest

in the University very readily, and he had a very good personal one, which he had been fond of cultivating there preferably to any other place. The Government acquiesced in Sir Joseph Yorke's being rechosen for Dover, and Mr. J. Y. came in for Ryegate on a family interest, so we were all prepared to take our fortune in the contest and squabble of a new Parliament.'

Lord Hardwicke himself, though exempt from the necessity of standing for Parliament, had in the same year an opportunity of becoming Chancellor of Cambridge University owing to the death of the old Duke of Newcastle, and Charles urged him to stand. Inclined to do so at first, he soon withdrew on the prospect of opposition, saying, 'I was easily prevailed with to drop my pretensions . . . and entirely acquiesced in my giving myself no further trouble about the matter,' a phrase which hits off exactly the attitude of mind now habitual with himself and Charles.

Long before the general election Lord Chatham had become too ill to retain any control over his ministry, and in October 1768 he formally resigned office. The government, under the influence of Lord North and the Duke of Bedford's 'Bloomsbury gang,' now frankly cast aside all remnants of Whig principles, and once more plunged the House of Commons into the morass of the Wilkes affair. But Lord Camden, though overruled in Council, still held the Great Seal; Charles Yorke therefore sulked in his garden at Hampstead, and by over-indulgence in the pleasures of the table destroyed the little strength of character he ever possessed. The only important question then at issue was the Wilkes case, and on this Charles obstinately refused to commit himself. To resume his brother's narrative:—

'It happened very unluckily for Mr. Yorke, that before the sitting down of the new Parliament the whole attention of Government as well as Opposition was engaged in Wilkes's business. My brother had always a strong dislike to his cause and character, had filed the first information for the famous No. 45 as Attorney-General, and spoke with remark-

able zeal and spirit at Guildhall on the actions brought by the Journeymen Printers against the King's Messengers. He took a warm part in both the Middlesex elections in favour of Sir William Beauchamp, who was his relation by marriage, and all the ill-usage he had received from the Court could not induce him to support one of the many Opposition points which arose out of this complicated subject. . . . When the question arose towards the close of this Session about the *power* of the House of Commons to disqualify, he would never give his opinion on it in public, tho' to a few friends in private, if he was asked, he declared himself strongly for the power. After the House of Commons had voted in Colonel Luttrel, the question of Right was taken up again on a petition of some Middlesex Electors, and, as I foresaw it was likely to become a very serious matter, I pressed him most earnestly one morning when he called upon me in St. James's Square to go down to the House and give his full opinion in the cause. I thought it incumbent upon him both as a lawyer and a member of Parliament, and I thought he might do it without being suspected of any intention to compliment the Court. There was not then the least prospect of Lord Campden's removal, and it was basely whispered abroad that his opinion went the other way. Lord Chatham's indeed was more publicly known. However, most unfortunately all my instances (and I never used stronger to him) did not prevail and he was inflexible in not attending the House.[1] I spoke to him at the same time upon his previous reserve to us, and the rather that Mr. John Yorke had without knowing his sentiments, much less his reasons (of which he was often too incommunicative), gone to the House and voted with the minority. He seemed not to dislike that, at the same time, he could not himself take that side of the Question, but was really of the contrary. In short, I never was so much dissatisfied with any conversation in my Life, and was very apprehensive that his conduct would

[1] 'Lord Temple told me in the summer of 1770—you gave very good counsel for himself but very bad for us.'

become more embarrassed and uncertain, and that he would end in pleasing nobody, not even himself.'

However, by Christmas 1769 Camden was so much out of harmony with the rest of his colleagues that he was certain to be dismissed if he did not resign. The Great Seal seemed once more within Charles's grasp, and his brother spurred him on to seize it.

'We talked the matter over backwards and forwards, and I must own my opinion then inclined for his accepting it. I remember I concluded with telling him, that if he had a mind to be Chancellor, he must not expect it could come to him in any agreeable mode; he must take it as the Times would give it. I should not have said this if his coming in would have laid any necessity upon him of acting against his real opinion or breaking any Engagement. I heartily wish I had stuck firm to *this* text, and never entered into speculative comments upon it; and it has confirmed me in an opinion, that people of a tolerable understanding judge better when left to themselves, than when confounded by the various opinions of Friends, where the point is at all delicate. . . .

'Not many days before Christmas, I had a private dinner at my own House with Mr. Yorke and my Brother John, on purpose that we might agree upon some plan of conduct. Mr. Y. seemed more irresolute than ever, and notwithstanding all we could urge was determined not to be at the House the first day, tho' it was said that some debate of consequence would arise. As well as I can recollect Mr. John Yorke and myself were clear in two points, That it would be unbecoming not to attend, and that he ought long ago to have explained himself to Lord Rockingham, that the world might not have run away with the idea that he particularly belonged to that connection. I believe we differed in opinion whether, *Rebus sic stantibus*, it would be expedient for Mr. Y. to accept the Great Seal.

'The meeting broke up without Mr. Yorke's coming to any clear decision, and when I pressed him to give his opinion in the House on the Disqualification question, he used these

memorable tho' unhappy words, "I cannot do it, because if I go with the Court they will betray me, or give me up as they did before, and if with the Opposition, it will be against my convictions." Mr. Yorke went to Tittenhanger three days before the Parliament began. He stayed over the first day, and on his return met with the Duke of Grafton's note which opened that future treaty.'

Lord Hardwicke was right. The debate was indeed one of consequence, and before Charles returned from Tittenhanger the storm of indignation which had long been gathering against the Government burst out in full fury. At the opening of the session on January 9, 1770, Lord Chatham, after an absence of three years, suddenly reappeared in the House of Lords, and in one of his finest speeches poured out the pent-up torrent of his wrath on the ministers who by their conduct of the Wilkes case had disgraced Parliament and by their arrogant incompetence in America were goading that country to revolt. The effect of the great statesman's battle-cry was instantaneous. The Opposition, if unable to conquer the King's corrupt majority, at least had a leader and a clear issue for which to fight; and the Government was plainly no longer the place for any true Whigs. Camden found his tongue again, and gave ministers the long-sought excuse for his dismissal.

At this point we may leave the Earl's narrative. An account by him of the succeeding days' events is to be found in the volume of MSS., besides other letters and documents written by Charles and himself and the Duke of Grafton. But the simplest and the most vivid recital of the facts is in a document begun in October 1772 by Charles's second wife, Agneta Yorke, and completed by her on November 20, 1774. Her dates, as is perhaps natural, considering the lapse of time, require some slight correction from other memoranda in the volume; but otherwise no one reading her account could fail to be convinced of its truth, for it seems to be wrung from her very soul. She is said to have been a most beautiful woman; without doubt she was a most unhappy

wife. Sir George Trevelyan, in his well-known and truly graphic account of these events, appears to have been in ignorance of this memoir; at any rate, he attributes to Lord Hardwicke a better part than he actually chose, even on his own showing. This memoir, if not the whole volume, will, it is hoped, some day be printed entire. All that is possible in this paper is to attempt to give by an epitome some idea of Mrs. Yorke's story.[1]

Two days after Lord Chatham's speech Charles Yorke received a letter from the Duke of Grafton asking him to call on the following day. He guessed that this meant the offer of the Great Seal, and told his wife that he should probably refuse it. On the evening of January 12, 1770, he saw the Duke, but, instead of refusing outright, agreed to take a little time to consider his final answer, and was given until Sunday, the 14th, to decide. The right course to adopt would not, perhaps, have been obvious even to a less irresolute character than Charles Yorke. It seems fairly clear from his brother's journal that he had no profound aversion from the chief ministerial measures, and he must have felt that were he now to refuse the Great Seal he would never have it offered to him again; on the other hand, Lord Chatham's speech had brought it home to his family and to all the politicians to whom he was bound by early association that they could have no further part with the ministerial party, so that his acceptance would mean a definite severance from all his friends. This, however, is certain: that it was essentially a question to be decided by a man quietly in accordance with his own conscience. Instead of taking this course, poor weak Charles spent his few hours of respite rushing round to his friends' and relations' houses, collecting opinions from them all. His wife earnestly begged him to decline, and to live at peace with her and her children. Lord Rockingham was equally strong on the same side, and so also was

[1] I shall take the liberty of altering Mrs. Yorke's dates where they are obviously wrong. The only real mistake she makes is to antedate the offer of the Great Seal to her husband by four days.

his brother John. Lord Hardwicke did not at first commit himself. Charles himself was still unshaken in his first idea of refusing. But on the 13th he went to see Lord Mansfield, and his wife received a visit from Lord Hardwicke's wife. Lady Grey was all for Charles's accepting, and during a long visit brought up every possible argument for that view, including the statement that she represented her husband's opinion as well as her own. Mrs. Yorke, already half distracted by the uncertainty, was so overborne by the flood of reasoning that, as soon as her sister-in-law had left, she wrote out for her husband a memorandum of reasons for acceptance. Charles meanwhile had been undergoin a similar experience with Lord Mansfield, who, having previously refused the post himself, now exerted all his unrivalled arts as a pleader to induce Charles to accept. With a mind, therefore, half-prepared, he took his wife's memorandum to read by his dressing-room fire. 'I could perceive,' she says, 'that it made an impression on him, for I saw the tears stand in his eyes.' He then decided to ask for further time for consideration, and 'from this moment Mr. Yorke began to lose rest and appetite.' She herself began ardently to wish he would accept, if only to settle the matter.

The next three days were spent by Charles in further going to and fro to collect opinions from his friends. Lord Chief Justice Wilmot, who, like Lord Mansfield, had also refused the Chancellorship, urged Charles to undertake the office. Lord Rockingham and John Yorke again dissuaded him, while Lord Mansfield once more encouraged him. Lord Hardwicke now changed his ground and adopted Lord Rockingham's tone. Finally, on the evening of the 16th, Charles had an interview with the King, and, in accordance with his intention previously announced to his wife, declined the Great Seal. But on his return Mrs. Yorke saw that 'peace was never more to return to his bosom,' for when he had refused, the King had made it plain that he would never have another such opportunity.

The wife was right in her forebodings. Next day, the 17th, there was a levée, which Charles told her he should attend. She begged him not to, since the matter was now decided, and instead, as he was looking very ill, to go off at once to the country. But the poor moth could not resist the light; and, with the lame excuse that he must needs make his bow to the King, he went once more to the Palace. She, full of anxious fear, remained at home. Four o'clock, the dinner hour, struck, but he had not returned. She waited dinner till six, and soon afterwards his clerk came with the rumour that her husband was Lord Chancellor. Then at last Charles himself appeared—the rumour was true—the King had taken him into his closet after the levée and there commanded him to accept, adding that he himself had not slept for anxiety. Charles had yielded, and for the moment 'felt a serenity to which he had for some time been a stranger'; but on his way home had been to see his brother, with whom he found Lord Rockingham. Both were 'outrageous . . . . Lord Hardwicke (tho' formerly so anxious that I should take it) has exceeded all bounds of Temper, Reason, and even common Civility. . . . If I lose the support of my Family I shall be undone.' It appears from Lord Hardwicke's own account that he was chiefly annoyed at the figure he himself would cut after announcing Charles's refusal to all his friends, and that he had very little thought of higher considerations.

After dinner Charles had to return to the Palace to receive the Great Seal and kiss hands on his appointment, and his wife, by his orders, went to St. James's Square to soften matters with Lord Hardwicke. In this she partially succeeded, until Charles came in on his return from the King. Thereupon the Earl broke out afresh, and was only softened by Mrs. Yorke's tears. 'I believe,' she adds, 'he meant to say something kind, but he has not a graceful manner of doing things.' Then the new Chancellor and his wife returned home, and 'Mr. Woodcock followed in the chariot with the Great Seal.'

The story of the next three days is shortly told. That

night there was no sleep for Charles, who in his anguish called out that 'his brothers had murdered sleep,' and 'that it would have been kinder of them to have shot him in the head than have wounded him so deeply.' On the 18th, though very ill, he rose to receive suitors and other visitors, among whom were John Yorke and the Dean of Lincoln. In the evening his wife, also ill herself, came up to his room. She saw that 'Death was in his Face,' and he talked of giving up the Great Seal and of going away to hide in the country with her. 'I tried every method to awake and amuse him, but in vain. I could support it no longer. I fell upon my knees and begged of him not to afflict himself so much, that he would resume his fortitude and trust to his own judgment—in short, I said a great deal which I remember now no more; my sensations were little short of distraction at that time.' On the morning of the 19th he vomited blood, and, when Mrs. Yorke came to him, was speechless, but after a time said to her: 'How can I repay your kindness, my dear Love? God will reward you! I cannot; be comforted.' She saw him alive no more, for after this she herself was too ill to be moved from her bed. Lord Hardwicke, however, who had spent the 18th in quiet reflection at Richmond, came to see him on the 19th with the intention of supporting him in his resolution to be Chancellor, but it was too late; his brother was too disordered to be talked to. In the evening of the 20th Charles Yorke died.[1]

'The day after the proper officers came for the Great Seal, and the King and his Ministers forgot that there ever was such a man! whom take him for all in all, we ne'er shall look upon his like again.'

With these fond words Mrs. Yorke brings her sad tale to an end, and with that also closes the history of this generation

[1] I do not here discuss the vexed question whether Charles Yorke actually committed suicide or died a natural death. The matter can never probably be decided with certainty. I am inclined to think, especially after reading Mrs. Yorke's narrative, that the anxiety and indecision of these days preying upon a constitution already impaired by over-indulgence are quite sufficient to account for his death without resorting to the explanation of violent means.

of the Yorkes. The King had not even the grace to grant to Charles Yorke's son the barony of Morden, which would have been his had his father not been too ill to affix the Great Seal to the patent. The Earl contented himself with advising other people on politics during the rest of his life, and the Dean of Lincoln in due course became a bishop. Sir Joseph, indeed, continued to do good work for his country at the Hague, and justly earned his barony of Dover. But as a family of consequence in the State, such as we saw them at the beginning of this narrative, they were dead. It was left to later generations of the Yorkes, no longer brought up in the belief that they were indispensable to the State, to revert to the old Earl's strenuous strain, and to produce statesmen, soldiers, and sailors who have done honour to their country and their ancestry.

DISCUSSION.

The President, in a detailed criticism of the subject-matter of the paper, pointed out that the resignation of Charles Yorke in November 1763 was really explained by the close alliance of his father, Lord Hardwicke, with the Duke of Newcastle and the great Whig families. Their expectations from Chatham's interview with the King in the preceding August had been disappointed, and pressure was brought to bear upon Yorke by his father and the duke to resign. Again, Charles Yorke was obviously at variance with the Government on the important question of the legality of General Warrants. He was not a man to hold a professional question lightly, and this professional feeling influenced his conduct in more than one crisis of his career.

The President considered that the probable reason why the King slighted the second Lord Hardwicke in April 1764 was, because the Yorke connection had voted with the minority against the Government in February of that year.

He certainly thought that the MS. described by Mr. Williams appeared to be worthy of publication *in extenso*. In that case, however, it would require to be very carefully edited. The family bias must be discounted, and it might be shown (as in the matter of the alleged choice of the offices of Master of the Rolls or

Attorney-General given to Charles Yorke in 1764) that its statements were not always trustworthy. Indeed, these entries were evidently made as *mémoires pour servir*, to enhance the credit of the family. He proceeded to give, from original and independent authorities, the true history of Charles Yorke's attempts to make terms with the Government and obtain office in November 1764. A narrative of these transactions in the Grenville Correspondence clearly shows that there was no intention of yielding to his pretensions. It should be remarked, however, that by virtue of his patent of precedence Charles Yorke recovered a professional standing which he had lost on his resignation in 1763. Mrs. Yorke's affecting account of her husband's death, though doubtless ingenuous, is not necessarily conclusive. Contemporary evidence, specially from the Duke of Grafton's Autobiography, was adduced in favour of the theory of suicide : a tragedy of that sort would have been carefully concealed from his wife's knowledge. It may be suggested that Mrs. Yorke's contribution to the family history was made at the request of the second Lord Hardwicke, who required it for the purpose of the *mémoire* above referred to.

THE DIARY OF AN ELIZABETHAN GENTLEWOMAN

By Miss EVELYN FOX

Read April 30, 1908

THE diary which is the subject of this paper was written by Margaret, Lady Hoby, the wife of Sir Thomas Posthumous Hoby, of Hackness, near Scarborough; it extends from August 1599 to August 1605. The manuscript is now in the British Museum (Egerton 2614); it was purchased from the Sydenham family, to whom it descended through Hoby's heir, Sir John Sydenham. As I hope to edit the text in full, I propose to give only a brief account of the writer, and a few extracts from the diary showing the everyday life of a country gentlewoman of that time.

Margaret Hoby was the daughter of Arthur Dakins, a member of a Derbyshire family, several branches of which settled in the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire at the dissolution of the monasteries.[1] He married Thomasine Guy (whose mother was one of the Carews of Anthony); they had two children, a son who died young, and Margaret. She was baptised at Wintringham Church, February 10, 1571, and received her education in the household of Henry Hastings, third Earl of Huntingdon, President of the Council of the North, and a connection of her father's. He was an ardent Puritan; his ideal of what a woman should be may be summed up in the words of congratulation he addressed to the Earl of

[1] *Letters and Papers Henry VIII.* vol. xi. 1536, p. 103; vol. xiv. 1539, pt. i. pp. 160, 606; pt. ii. pp. 276, 335; vol. xvi. 1540–1, p. 719; *Yorks Archæol. Journ.* ix. p. 325 (1886).

Rutland on his marriage in 1573 :[1] 'I trust you have chosen well and I am sure of it, if the report be true that she fears God, loves the Gospel, and hates Popery.' It was probably due also to the Earl's Puritan leanings that we can see no trace of classical learning in the diary ; there are none of those quotations from Latin and Greek authors with which the learned ladies of Elizabeth's Court were wont to grace their letters. One has but to compare the letters of Lady Russell[2] (Margaret's mother-in-law) with the diary, to see the enormous difference which Puritan ideals had wrought in the education of women. Lady Russell, always ready with apt quotations and with a great turn for original Latin verse ; Margaret, widely read in the divines, but finding her storehouse of reference in the Bible : these are good types of the two generations of women in Elizabeth's day.

The Huntingdons had no children of their own, and Margaret seems to have been a great favourite both of the Earl and of his Countess, Catherine, daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, for when the time came to arrange a marriage for her, the Earl was willing to provide a part of the dower. As the only daughter of well-to-do parents with powerful connections, she was a great catch for the younger sons of good houses, and much sought after by their match-making relations. The whole history of her three courtships (for within the space of seven or eight years she married three times) is an interesting illustration of the very business-like view of marriage common at the time. In all countries where very early marriages are the rule, it naturally falls to the parents to make the arrangements, and equally naturally, the characters of both parties being unformed, social, political, and financial considerations are the preponderating factors. In the case of Margaret's second and third marriages we see these considerations still so much to the fore that natural affection and higher views seem almost entirely left aside. In 1588 the Huntingdons found a suitable match in the

[1] Roy. Hist. MSS. Com., MSS. at Belvoir, vol. i. p. 99 (1888).
[2] Salisbury MSS. *passim*.

person of Walter Devereux, 'that diamond of the time, and both of an hardy and delicate temper and mixture,'[1] younger brother of Robert, Earl of Essex, then about eighteen or nineteen years of age. Early in the year the negotiations began, and the vexed question of settlements was gone into. It was agreed that the manor of Hackness should be purchased for the young couple for 6,500*l.* (it was subsequently worth 1,500*l.* a year),[2] of which Arthur Dakins was to pay 3,000*l.*, Essex 3,000*l.* for his brother, and Huntingdon 500*l.* Dakins at the moment could only find 2,000*l.*, and Essex made up the remainder.[3] The marriage took place before May 1589. I can find no account of the life of the young couple, unless the words of William Ewre, when he made a great row at Hackness, throwing down millstones and breaking windows, and saying 'he would play young Devereux,'[4] is an allusion to Walter's conduct while in Yorkshire.

In 1591 he went with his brother to the war in France, and was present as leader of the horse[5] at the siege of Rouen, which was held by the League; on September 8 he was killed in a skirmish before that town. His brother writes: 'This unfortunate skirmish has robbed me of him who was dearer to me than ever I was to myself';[6] and again, 'I have lost . . . him who next her Majesty was dearest to me of all the world.'[7] 'The whole army was full of sorrow for the loss of so worthy a gentleman.'[8] His companions rescued his body and placed it in a leaden coffin, intending to carry it triumphantly into Rouen at the end of the siege.[9]

If we turn to England, however, we find that the news of

[1] *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, by Sir Henry Wotton, third edition, 1672, i. 173.

[2] *Yorks. Archæol. Journ.* vol. xvii. p. 88, (1903).

[3] Orders and Decrees of Chancery, 1597, A. fol. 88; printed in *Fortescue Papers*, ed. S. R. Gardiner, Camden Soc., pp. xxii–iv, (1871).

[4] Salisbury MSS. vol. x., p. 304, (1904).

[5] *State Papers Dom.* 1591–4, vol. ccxxxix. no. 93, p. 74.

[6] *Lives of the Devereux*, by W. B. Devereux, vol. i. p. 233, (1853).

[7] *Ibid.* p. 240.

[8] *Mems. of Robert Carey*, ed. Sir Walter Scott, pp. 25–6, (1808).

[9] *Hist. Univ.* by J. A. de Thou, vol. viii. p. 48, (1740).

Devereux's death was not so much a cause for mourning as a signal to plunge into fresh matrimonial projects. Not a fortnight after Walter's death fresh schemes for a second marriage for the young widow were on foot. The Countess of Huntingdon had her candidate ready this time in the person of her favourite nephew (and her husband's ward), young Thomas Sidney, Sir Philip Sidney's younger brother. Reading between the lines, it is easy to see that Margaret cared for Sidney; they must have spent some time together in the Earl's household. This may be some excuse for her extreme haste in re-marrying. Sidney was despatched post haste to Yorkshire with letters to Arthur Dakins asking him to send Margaret up to town to the Huntingdons' house that they might dispose of her in marriage.[1] But there was another suitor in the field, with equally if not more powerful connections. Already, on September 21, Burghley wrote to Huntingdon on behalf of his nephew, Mr. Thomas Posthumous Hoby.[2] This was the younger son of Sir Thomas Hoby (translator of Castiglione's 'Courtier,' and Ambassador to Paris, where he died in 1566) and of Elizabeth Cooke, one of Sir Anthony Cooke's learned daughters, a sister of Lady Burghley and of Lady Bacon. His mother married again in 1574 John, Lord Russell, son of Francis, second Earl of Bedford; her domineering, energetic nature, her intellectual attainments and capacity for business, made her an important factor in her children's lives. Burghley praised his nephew highly as likely to prove 'a good and courteous husband, a keeper and no spender.'[3] As nothing came of his first letter, he wrote in October to Dakins himself, urging Hoby's financial recommendations, and praying that he might have leave to see the gentlewoman.[4] But the Huntingdons had played their cards well. On November 2 Mistress Devereux was hurried up from Yorkshire to London. 'At her first

[1] *Fortescue Papers*, p. viii. In the introduction to these papers Gardiner has printed a few MS. letters relating to Lady Hoby's courtship, which were then at Dropmore, but were subsequently sent to Hackness, where they have unfortunately been destroyed.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. vii.–viii. [3] *Ibid.* p. vii. [4] *Ibid.* p. viii.

coming she was brought to her Chamber which she closely kept . . . and none was ever suffered to come without especiall admyttance.'[1] Lady Dorothy Perrot (Devereux's sister) sent to spy out the land on Hoby's behalf, but could gain no information. Richard Broughton, however, called on November 12, and found Thomas Sidney also calling, 'but not as a suitor till the funeral be past.'[2] Here we see the inconvenience which the action of Devereux's friends in keeping his body in France caused the young widow, for as it was not etiquette to marry while the first husband was still unburied, Margaret had to delay her marriage till the New Year. This gave Hoby's friends fresh hope. His energetic mother wrote to him: 'Posthumous! Now chyld it standeth you apper for your owne credits sake to try your friends . . . use matters that the widow be here this Christmas. . . . If in affection she be gone to Sidney it is one thing [this is the only reference to sentiment in the whole transaction]; if, by reason, she be willing to be ledd to her owne good, you will be found the better match of both. . . .' In a postscript she adds, 'Let Anthony Cooke help steale her away.'[3] But it was all of no use, and early in 1592 Margaret married Thomas Sidney.

He died on June 26, 1595, and once more the hopes of Hoby's friends revived. This time Sir Thomas Posthumous (he had been knighted in Ireland)[4] was even more energetic than before. Already by August 3 he had obtained letters from Burghley and his mother to the Earl of Huntingdon, had interviewed the latter, had seen his cousin Robert Cecil, had written to Bacon, etc. Huntingdon appointed Mr. (afterwards Sir) Edward Stanhope[5] to accompany Hoby, then going north to see the gentlewoman; he adds rather pathetically, 'so bad hath bene my success before that I

[1] British Museum MSS. Add. Birch, 4117, fol. 20*b*.

[2] Roy. Hist. MSS. Com., Report, iv. p. 335*a* (1874).

[3] *Fortescue Papers*, pp. x–xi.

[4] July 7, 1594. *Knights of England*, by Wm. A. Shaw, ii. p. 91, (1906).

[5] Son of Sir Michael Stanhope, Governor of Kingston-upon-Hull. Sir Edward died 1603.

would never deale that way agayne for any such matter.' Stanhope wrote a full description of the suitor's first sight of his lady. He says: 'I founde her layde, complayninge of payne in her eyes and heade, which I founde to proceede of great lamentacion for the losse of the worthy gentleman her last husbande, for she coulde not then speake of him without teares. . . . Findinge the occasion of my cominge, she shedd teares againe sayinge . . . the tender love she bare to him that was dead made it grevous to her to hear of any newe, and much more to be thought of the gentleman that she were to be delt with, in any such matter, so soone. . . .' He told her that two respects led Hoby to press the point of seeing her. 'One in desier his eye to witness that which publicke report hath delivered him, that the guyftes of nature had in some sorte equalled her vertues. The other having bene long drawne to affect her for thes guyftes, he was desirous to be made knowen to her, as the firste that should seeke her.'[1] I fear the widow was not much attracted. Sir Thomas Posthumous was so small that he had been 'reputed as a chyld';[2] he is described by his enemies as a 'scurvy urchen,' a 'spindle shanked ape';[3] he is ridiculed 'as the little knight that useth to draw up his Breeches with a Shooing-horn.'[4] However, he had 'not come so far to be discouraged with some fewe repulses.' In November he returned north 'with a good Store of faire Jewels and Pearls,'[5] and besieged everyone connected with Margaret with letters and interviews. In December the Earl of Huntingdon died, and his brother, laying claim to Hackness on the ground that the purchase-money had not been fully paid up, instituted Chancery proceedings against Mistress Sidney. Her cousin, Edward Stanhope, wrote to her in May 1596, pointing out that she had no friends to help her cause, and giving her a sledge-hammer hint that it

[1] *Fortescue Papers*, pp. xii–xiv. [2] Lansd. MS. 10, art. 38, fol. 136.
[3] Salisbury MSS. vol. xi. p. 546, (1906).
[4] *Familiar Letters by James Howell*, ed. Joseph Jacobs, p. 269, (1890–92).
[5] *Sidney Papers*, ed. Arthur Collins, vol. i. p. 361, (1746).

would be advisable to accept Sir Thomas, as his influential relations with the Cecils and others would be invaluable to her.[1] It seems hardly fair to make any insinuations as to what happened then, but in June Hoby was accepted, and on August 8 he wrote to Anthony Bacon bidding[2] him to his wedding the next day at his mother's house at Blackfriars, 'when,' he says, 'I seek only to please the Beholders with a Sermon and a Dinner and myself with beholding my Mistress.' Shortly after the Hobys went north, and settled down at Hackness to 'keep hospitality,' and to lead the ordinary life of the small country gentleman and his wife of that day. It is this life which is so well illustrated by the diary.

On reading the account of Lady Hoby's courtships, we cannot but think of her as a very worldly woman, but in this we are doing her an injustice; hitherto we have only seen one side of her character, and probably the worst side, fostered and brought out by the utilitarian views of those around her. If we turn to the diary itself, we find she was essentially a good and religious woman. The prayers and pious reflections which were ever on her lips, and flowed so freely from her pen, were the outcome of a full heart, the outward signs of a keen spiritual life. We have outside testimony also of her virtues. She is spoken of as 'the best Lady that ever any knight in the world enioyed.'[3] Francis Bacon writing (on his own marriage) to her husband says: 'Your loving congratulations for my doubled life, as you call it, I thank you for. No man may better conceive the joys of a good wife than yourself with whom I dare not compare.'[4] Sir Thomas had evidently had an eye to other things besides money when he so pestered Margaret Devereux and Mistress Sidney with his attentions.

The diary itself was started with a view of recording

[1] *Fortescue Papers*, pp. xviii. xix.
[2] British Museum MSS. Add. 4120, old p. 153, new, fol. 77.
[3] MS. Sloane, 4276, fol. 93.
[4] Bacon's *Works*, ed. James Spedding, vol. x. pp. 298–9, (1868).

Lady Hoby's spiritual experiences and noting down her religious exercises; it was to be a book of reference to which she might turn and see how and when she had erred, and what duties she had omitted. She once says, 'I neglected my custom of praier for which . . . it pleased the Lord to punishe me with an Inward assalte . . . and if I had not taken this course of examenation I think I had forgotten itt.' She began the day with prayer and reading of the Bible; with wearying monotony each new day starts, 'After I had prayed and read of the bible I went about the house,' or 'I break my fast.' Twice again during the day she retired to her own room for private prayer and meditation, besides attending the public prayers and lecture (conducted by the chaplain and accompanied by the singing of psalms) of the ordinary Puritan household, and she closed the day with private prayers again. She wrote out lectures and sermons in her 'sarmon book,' copied voluminous notes into her Testament; she read the Bible at odd moments during the day, besides a very large number of religious works. On 'the Lords Day' she went twice to church, and had a sort of class, for she says, 'after I dined . . . I talked and reed to som good wiffes,' also 'I went to talke to my olde wemen.' She went down among her maids and talked to them 'of good things,' 'of principles,' she 'had som speach with the poore and Ignorant of the sound principles of religion.'

The chaplain played a very important part in Lady Hoby's life, as she spent much time hearing him read, and talking to him and writing out 'spiritual exercises' for him. Throughout the first part of the diary he was Richard Rhodes, afterwards 'minister of the word of God at Hackness.' He married one of Lady Hoby's household, Mercy Hunter, daughter of Robert Hunter, of Thornton, in Pickering-Lythe. Lupton says of country chaplains, 'If they come single, its a thousand to one but they will either be in Love or Married before they goe away.'[1] He also read aloud while

[1] *London and the Country Carbonadoed*, by D. Lupton, 1632, ed. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps in *Books of Character*, pp. 313–4, (1857).

Lady Hoby and her maids worked, but sometimes when he was absent others read, 'one of the men,' 'one of my women,' 'one of my maids,' 'little Kate.' In the course of the diary Lady Hoby mentions the names of a great number of books: they were chiefly sermons, the works of eminent divines, the standard book of the Puritan household 'the book of marters.' Besides this she refers to the ''arball' (probably Gerard's 'Herbal,' published in 1597), 'a lecture on rhetorike,' 'reed a Litle of humanitie,' and to two political tracts on Essex.

Before leaving the religious side of Lady Hoby's life, it is interesting to note her views as to the relation between sickness and punishment for sin. The former was almost always looked upon as a mark of divine displeasure, either for some special carelessness as regards health or neglect of religious duty. 'After dinner it pleased [the Lord], for a Just punishment to correcte my sinnes, to send me febilniss of stomake and paine of my head that kept me vpon my bed tell 5 a clock, at which time I arose, hauinge release of my sicknes according to the wonted kindnis of the Lord, who, after he had Let me se how I had offended that so I might take better heed to my body and soule hereafter, with a gentle corriction Let me feele he was reconciled to me. And again '. . . went to bed, God hauinge a Litle afflected me with sicknes for a great desart; the Lord grant me true repentance for all my sinnes.' Another time when on a visit to York she writes, 'I was at publick praers very sicke, the Lord pardon the sinne for which I was so punished; it being the will of God often to punishe one sinne with another, for I had Litle profett by that praier by reasone of my sicknes. . . .' She had wretched health, poor thing, was always ill; suffered from horrible bouts of toothache which lasted for days or even weeks, from very heavy colds and coughs, and from a large variety of internal complaints. Like most other country people, for her and for Sir Thomas, a visit to town, York or London, was the sign for a perfect orgy of doctoring, dosing, physicking, bleeding; the doctor was never out of the house. It would be hard to say whether

the following reflections showed a great faith in the faculty or not. Commenting on the sudden death of one of her doctors 'procured by a medeson he minestred to him selfe to Cause him to sleepe . . . I found the mercie and power of God shewed in openinge his eies touchinge me, and shuttinge them against him selfe, by Causinge him to have great Care of ministringe vnto me, and so Litle for his owne saftie ; therfore I may truly conclude it is the Lord and not the phisetion who both ordaines the medesine for our health, and orderethe the ministring of it for the good of his children, closinge and vnclosinge the Judgmentes of men at his pleasure.' Perhaps it was her own constant illness which made her so kind to poor sick folk. Doctors were an unheard of luxury in country districts for any but the very wealthy, and most people were entirely dependent for the cure of their ailments on travelling quacks (men and women), the local herbwoman, or the educated wife of the minister or country gentleman. Most women were taught the brewing of simple potions and remedies, and though they often made grave mistakes and were railed at by the few qualified practitioners, yet their help was much sought after and must frequently have been better than nothing. Lady Hoby not only visited the sick, attended poor women in their confinement, but made up medicines: 'made a medicine for my Cousin Ison's woman'[1]; 'gave a poor woman of Caton a salve for her arm.' She also dressed wounds, sores, and cuts: 'I looked upon a poor man's legg. . . . I dressed one that was hurt . . . after sermon I dressed other poor folk.' Twice a day for two months she dressed two patients. She was not above 'making a salve for a sore beast,' and with singular courage she undertook surgical operations. A child that was malformed was brought to her, 'and I was earnestly entreated to cutt the place, but although I cutt deep, and searched, I found nothing.' To Lady Hoby could be applied the eulogy of Margaret Colfe, the wife of Abraham Colfe, the

[1] Catherine, daughter of Wm. Theakston, and wife of Edward Isons, of Troutsdale.

rector of Lewisham: 'For Yeares a willing nvrse, midwife, Svrgeon and in part Physitian to all both rich and poore; without expecting reward.'[1]

When we turn to the daily tasks of the household, we note the very large share the women bore in the industrial and economic life of the community, a community, moreover, which was very self-sufficing. Not only were the wool and hemp spun at home and the clothes and household stuff made up there, but many of the hours spent by Lady Hoby and her maids at needlework (the terms 'sat and wrought with my maids,' 'went down and wrought with my maids,' occur over and over again) must have been dedicated to the making of tapestry and hangings for the house. I cannot refrain from quoting a paragraph from the 'Memoirs of Sir Hugh Cholmley'[2] describing similar work undertaken by his wife, Lady Hoby's neighbour and contemporary, as it proves so thoroughly that in this diary we get first-hand evidence of the occupations pursued by plain country folk all over England three hundred years ago: 'She contributed much to beautifying of the house at Whitby, being a good contriver within doors, and having a most singular faculty to make and order furniture for houses, and dress it after the best mode; which many cannot do though they have the stuff; which gift she had from her mother bred up in Queen Elizabeth's Court . . . the blankets and much of the bedding were made or got in by her own housewifery and industry without much expence of money. There is a suit of green cloth hangings, with flowers of needle-work wrought by herself and maids, which I much esteem and prize. . . . In her younger years, when first a housekeeper, she employed herself and maids much with their needles. . . .'

The very close relations which a community of work entails must have had also very far-reaching social influences, and have retarded the growth of many of those problems which now confront us, particularly when we bear in mind

[1] *Bibliothecæ Colfanæ Catalogus*, by Wm. H. Black, p. xxv (1831).

[2] *Mems. of Sir H. Cholmley*, 1687, priv. printed, 1870, p. 57.

the composition of the average household of the time. At Hackness we have Lady Hoby representing the great lady of the neighbourhood ; then came the young girls of good family who served her : Mercy Hunter (who married the chaplain), her sister Elizabeth ; Everill Ask, of the family of Aughton (who married Thomas Riccard, of Hatfield) ; Jane Gates, granddaughter of Sir Henry Gates, of Seamer ; Lady Hoby's cousin, Jane Lutton, one of her Dakins cousins. Then maids of a lower class—Elizabeth Penocke, whose conduct was most unsatisfactory ; Jane Granger, and various others whose names are mentioned. Sir Hugh Cholmley, in his delightful 'Memoirs' already referred to, comments very sensibly on the effect this type of household had in the surrounding districts. Speaking of his wife (Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Twisden, of Great Peckham, Kent, 1600–55) : 'The people and country about owe a perpetual obligation to her memory ; they and that country being much improved and refined by her coming thither ; for as divers (and of the best in the country) desired to have their daughters in service with her ; so being dismissed with many good qualities, they did communicate them to others, and thus not only the younger sort, and some of low rank had improvement, but even the elder and best qualities of housekeepers . . . by her example and acquaintance did much improve and reform both in manners and handsome deportment of their persons, and neatness of their houses and living.'

Lady Hoby refers to numberless household tasks which she did with 'my maids' or with 'my women.' In October she writes : 'I went abroad with my maids that was busie pulling hempe.' In April : 'I went with my maids into the Garden' (probably weeding). 'After dinner I was busie weighing of wool tell almost night. . . . After breakfast I was busie to dye wool . . . was busie about dying of stuffe . . . wound yearne ; bought a litle spining whell and spann of that. . . . I did se Lights made allmost all the afternone ; was busie about wax Lights. . . . I did musie myself about

making of oile in my clositt. . . . I went to take my bees and saw my honey ordered. . . . Went about my stilling; stilled aqua vita. . . .' Besides these there are many references to preserving damsons and quinces, making sweetmeats and gingerbread, etc.

Lady Hoby was also an excellent business woman, with a good eye to the main chance. In January 1603 she writes: 'It was tould Mr. Hoby that a ship was wrecked vp at Burnestone vpon his land, and thus at all times God bestowed benefitts vpon vs; God make us thankful.' As Hackness was hers, it is possible that this gave her a specially prominent part in the work carried on at the manor, but it is much more probable that Sir Thomas's repeated absences made her personal supervision a necessity. Like most country gentlemen he was continually away from home; he was a member of the Council of the North, member of Parliament, Commissioner for the Subsidy, for Musters, a J.P., and very regular attendant at quarter sessions; an indefatigable scourge of recusants (his wife refers to his going at night 'to search a house for papests'), and above all he was eternally involved in lawsuits. He certainly was very cantankerous: the Cholmleys, his Whitby neighbours, with whom he was always in open feud, reckoned him as one of the 'cross accidents of life,'[1] and a silly suit of his with the Corporation of Scarborough is referred to in the Strafford correspondence as 'one of his peevish tricks.'[2] The diary is full of his constant comings and goings. In 1599 we find, for instance, he was at Hackness on August 17, on the 23rd at Linton, on the 27th at York, and home again by September 3rd. On the 10th he went away again and returned on the 13th, going off again the same night and returning next day; he was at York on the 23rd, and is referred to as coming home on the 5th of October, away again on the 15th, and so on. When he was at home Lady Hoby was a great deal with him on matters of business, discussing with him their plans and

[1] *Mems. of Sir Hugh Cholmley*, priv. printed, 1870, p. 20.

[2] *Letters of Thomas Earl of Strafford*, by Wm. Knowler, vol. i. p. 57, (1739).

projects. 'Talked priuatly with Mr. Hoby about matters Concerninge Conscience and our estates ; . . . all the afternone I was busie with Mr. Hoby about nesesarie busenes. . . . I did eate some meate with Mr. Hoby and so tooke horsse and rede to Harwoodall to see our farme we bought of tho. Colsone . . . after supper I . . . talked a good time with Mr. Hoby of Husbandrie and Houshould matters. . . . I walked with Mr. Hoby about the towne to spye out the best places where Cotiges might be builded.' During his absence we find other occupations referred to. 'I walked to see som wheat ; walked about to workmen and was bused setting som wheat ; was sometime at the plowers and had sowen of rye five pecks ; was busy about setting corne ; delivered corne, walked forth and received in corne, measured corne to se what prouision we had ; was busie seeing som rooms made handsome for corne.' She was constantly in the hay-fields, and in moments of pressure notes that she 'got all out to the hay.' She oversaw the buying of sheep, set trees, 'spake to the new miller.' In the spring time she spent whole days in her garden, of which she was obviously very fond. Besides all this she paid the household bills : these were carefully looked after, for we hear that she 'wrett a proportion for the Houshould diatt,' and kept a 'table-book.' She also paid the servants and workmen's wages, kept the accounts (generally alluded to as 'busie about reckonings' or 'looked upon accounts'). She signed leases, received fines, also the rents ; she drew up business statements—in a word, did the work of a modern land-agent.

One might infer that, as Lady Hoby had no children of her own, she had more time to spare than most women, but she had other children in the house, most probably being taught by the chaplain. There was 'little Kate,' referred to as reading aloud, and who was boarded with friends when Lady Hoby was away. Then Jane Gates was brought by her father at the age of thirteen, 'who as he said, he freely gave me.' From other sources [1] we know that in later years a

[1] Sloane MS. 4276, fol. 93.

young cousin, Jane Lutton, attended in her 'religious and godly family,' where she gained 'much spirituall profit.' Hoby's cousins, John and George Sydenham (and possibly their sisters), also lived at Hackness, as their 'Mother was an ill woman to her children,'[1] and Sir Thomas in his will refers 'to the affectionate care which my said late wife did in her life-time take of his [John's] well doing and of his education in his youngest years.'

Her amusements, according to our modern ideas, were not numerous. She writes: 'I exercised my body at bowls . . . I walked a fishinge . . . walked a fishing with a friend. . . . This afternone we all went abroad to take the aire and to fishe. . . . To refresh myself being dull, I plaied and sung to the alphorion.'[2] One May she says, 'This morninge I went with diverse friends to Skarborow, where we tooke a boote and went to sea, supped at Mr. Teuble's[3] and after came home.' In July 'I took my Cotch and went into the feildes, wher I did eate my supper with my Mother and other freindes and then Came home.' 'After dinner Mr. Hoby and our Neighbours of Skarborow that dined with vs went into the fairs.' She often drove out in her coach, sometimes merely to take the air, but generally to visit her numerous friends and relations, frequently stopping a night or two. 'The first of this month [September 1602] Sir Tho. Hoby my mother and my selfe went to Snape to my Lord Burley, wher we were verie Honorably vsed by both my Lord and my Lady. We Lodged in our goinge thether at one Mr. Vauans [?] house at Byland Abie, and in our returne we lay at Mr. Natcleffe house at Nunington, and Came home the 4th of this month.' Then she received innumerable visitors; always on Sundays some six or seven people dined with them,

[1] Sydenham family MSS.

[2] A little-known stringed musical instrument.—*N.E.D.* Possibly the same as the orpharion.—*Schoole of Musicke*, by Thomas Robinson, sign. B 1 (1603).

[3] Most probably Stephen Tubley 'of Scarborough, merchant,' whose family came from Hackness.—*Hackness Parish Register*, ed. Rev. Charles Johnstone and E. J. Hart (1906). Paver's Marriage Licences, *Yorks. Archæol. Journ.* vol. x. p. 190.

and hardly a week-day passed without the presence of strangers being recorded. That these visits were not always an unmixed joy the following entries testify: 'Mr. Pollard[1] the head-constable dined with vs; strong is the force of vanitie . . . Ease staieth the foolishe. . . . I was veseted by a kinswoman which was some trouble at the first but considering all Crosses ought thankfully to be borne.' Another untimely visit was that of William Eure (eldest son of Ralph, third Lord Eure) and his boon companions on August 26, 1600. They came to supper, spent the time in discoursing of horses and dogs, 'sports whereunto Sir Thomas never applied himself . . . in lascivious talk with great oaths and in inordinate drinking of healths, abuses never practised by Sir Thomas.' During prayers, when Sir Thomas and his family had begun to sing a psalm, the 'company above made an extraordinary noise with their feet and one of them stood on the stairs at a window opening into the hall and laughed all the time of praiers.'[2] Next morning Lady Hoby writes, 'After I was readie I spake with Mr. Eurie who was so drunke that I soon made an end of that I had no reason to stay for.' They rode away after breaking windows, insulting their host, and vowing they had been most inhospitably used.[3] Is it to be wondered that Sir Thomas made a Star Chamber matter of it, or that he was shocked when he heard that Sir Robert Cecil, his own cousin, had made William Eure 'imitate my preacher, by using such gestures as my preacher did use in his evening exercises, and that your Honour did laugh very heartily at it.'[4] Lady Hoby thus records the end of the affair (which had caused them a great deal of unpleasantness with their neighbours): 'May 29 1602. This day came the Lord Eury his men to Hacknes to pay 100ll w*hi*ch was appointed them and others to pay by the Lords of the priue Counsill in the Starr Chamber, for their riott Comitted and

[1] Gawen Pollard was head constable of Pickering Lythe.
[2] Salisbury MSS. vol. x. pp. 302–4, (1904).
[3] Star Chamber Proceedings, 43 Eliz.
[4] Salisbury MSS. vol. x. p. 325, (1904).

Vnsiuill behauour att Hacknes; and so it fell out that it was done in the sight of our tenantes, so many of the tenants were bye when the mony was brought, w*hi*ch I note, as seeinge the Justice and mercie of God to his seruants in manifestinge to the world who Litle regards them, that he will bringe downe their enemes vnto them.'

During the years covered by the diary Lady Hoby paid several visits to York and London. Of the first visit to the latter she kept a fairly minute record, which I shall here epitomise, leaving out the account of her religious exercises which were carried on in town just the same as in the country. She started on October 9, 1600, going to Linton and on to Hull, and crossing by boat to Barton, then to the Girlingtons near Lincoln, on to Ancaster, Stamford, Huntingdon, Buntingford, and thence to London, arriving on the 17th. 'After I came to London . . . I was veseted with all my Cosine Cookes . . . after supper . . . I went to bed wher I was more meanly Lodged with so great Cost then to my remembrance I was ever in my Life, and yet I was Glad of my brother's house.' (I take it she stayed at Sir Edward Hoby's house, probably in or near the Strand; he was Sir Thomas's only brother, Governor of Queenborough Castle, Sheppey, 'a valiant and resolute gentleman, a man beautified with many excellent rare gifts of good learning and understanding.'[1] The Cookes were Lady Russell's relations, Frances, the widow of her brother William, and her six sons and daughters; they were settled in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields.) 'Oct. 18. Wrett by our men to Mr. Rhodes, talked with my Cousin Cooke, after dinner I looked vpon accounts and provided for next day. Oct. 19. The Lordes day . . . I went to Mr. Egertons sermon and after Came to my Lady Russills to Diner; after I went againe to his exercise and thence home to my Lodgings.' This she did once, if not twice, every Sunday. Stephen Egerton was a most popular preacher; 'At the Black Friars, . . . a little church or chappell up stayrs, but a great congregation,

[1] *The Principal Navigations*, by Richard Hakluyt, vol. iv. p. 252, (1904).

specially of women.'[1] Lady Hoby always visited Lady Russell at the same time, as her house was also in Blackfriars; she went, except when it was very stormy, by water. Oct. 20. All the Cookes visited her. 'The 21st I went abroad after dinner to vesitt my Lady Burley [wife of Thomas second Lord Burghley, President of the Council of the North] and my Lady Russill, so that it was allmost night before my Cominge home . . . after I talked a while with Mr. Hoby of our buseness.' The next three days she had three or four visitors every day, some stopped the whole day; on St. Simon and St. Jude's Day she went to the Minster in the morning, was visited by a Yorkshire preacher and wrote out notes of sermons, which she sent to her chaplain. During the first few days of November she was ill, but on the 8th she walked to Westminster Hall; on the 11th 'I washed some fine linan, my maid France beinge not able, after I strung som pearles, and then went to Cast vp som accountes. . . . The 12 day. After I was readie I was busie to make some readie for Sir Edward Hoby, Mr. Doctor Perkins,[2] and Docter Lister,[3] that came to vs to dinner. The 13 day. . . . I went to a standinge to se the quene Come to London.[4] The 14 day. . . . I went to Mr. Deans Garden with my Mother to walke, and at my Cominge home I saluted my Cosine Robert Dakins that Came about the buying of Linton; then I helped to dress a Litle meate that was made in my Chamber. . . . The 15 day. . . . I talked with Mr. Godfrie Rhodes that dined with vs of the Lawfullnes of huntinge in it selfe. Dec. 1. . . . Came yonge Mr. Theckstone[5] and so I went to the minster to se the monementes,

[1] *Diary of John Manningham*, ed. J. Bruce, Camden Soc. p. 101, (1868).

[2] Possibly William Perkins, the theological writer (1558–1602).

[3] One of the famous family of physicians and probably brother to her own doctor at York.

[4] The Queen was received at Chelsea by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, all in scarlet.—*Annales of Engl.* by John Stow, continued by Edmund Howes, p. 791, (1615).

[5] The Theakstones were connected with Lady Hoby's cousins, the Isons, and with her friends the Girlingtons.

after I walked. . . . The 2 day. I reed and walked to the Comune Garden, and after diner I was busie in my chamber and was veseted by my Cousin Bouchier.[1] Dec. 4. . . . Was veseted in the afternone by Mr. Job Throgmorton and bought Mr. Rhodes plate.[2] The 5 day. After praier I went about packinge of some stuff and talked with Cousin Bouchier, after I had dined I went to the Court to my Sister Hoby,[3] and after I Came into the Strand to my newe Lodginge, and after I went to super with my Lord of Limerick.[4] The 6 day. This day I was veseted by Mr. Jobe Throgmorton and at night my Lord of Limerick and his wife supped with vs she hauinge kept me Companie the afternone at my Ladie Bourles [Burghley].' Throughout December she continued to have numerous daily visitors, went out to supper, and to see her husband's and her own relations. With her mother and her friend Mrs. Thornborough she 'went in a Cotch into the feeldes and there walked'; she went twice to the Exchange, once to buy a 'new years guifte.' 'January the 7 day. After priuatt praers I went about and when I had dined I went to my Lady Russels and there I hard of the solemnetie at Courte.[5] After I went with my mother to se the glase house[6] and from thence to vesitte my Lady Shurley,[7] and I Came home and found Mr. Gates, and when I had talked a whill with Mr. Hoby I went to priuatt praier and examenations. The 8 day. After priuat praier I dined and soune after I went to Walsingham's house, wher I saw

[1] Probably Sir John Bouchier, or Bourchier, of Hanging Grimston, Yorks.

[2] Job Throgmorton (1545-1601), the controversialist of Martin-Marprelate fame.

[3] Wife of Sir Edward Hoby, daughter of Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon.

[4] This was John Thornborough (1551–1641), Dean of York and Bishop of Limerick, whose second wife, Elizabeth Bayles, was a great friend of Lady Hoby's.

[5] John Chamberlain (*Letters*, ed. Sarah Williams, Camden Soc. p. 99, 1861) says that on Jan. 6 'the Quene feasted the Moscovie Ambassador.'

[6] About 1580 the first glasshouse for making Venice glass was set up in London.—*London*, by H. B. Wheatley, ii. 115, (1891).

[7] Probably Frances, daughter of Henry Vavasour, of Coppenthorpe, near York; married 1591 Sir Thomas Sherley, the younger (1564–1630?); their daughter afterwards married a Dakins.

my Lady Rich,[1] my Lady Rutland,[2] and my Lady Walsinghame,[3] after I Came home I was pained in the toothach which Continewed with me 4 dayes after.' January 24 she writes: 'This was a day of vesetation in which I dined with my Lady Russill after went to the Courte to my sister Hoby, then went to my aunt Cooke, from thence to my Lady Burley, and so home.'

Lady Hoby was in London throughout the time of Essex's rebellion, but whether owing to caution, to her connection with Essex, or to the fact that she was ill at the moment, her references are few and very guarded. 'And vpon the Lordes day (Feb. 8th) in the morninge begann the treason of the Earles of Esix, Suthamton and Rutland with their associates to appeare to the vewe of all that were not ouer partially blind. From that day I remained Sackly but not so ill tell the 16 day [Monday], vpon which day was Captain Lea Arained, and the day following Executed for his intention to Murther the Quens Maiestie; the 19 day was the Earle of Suthamton and Esixe Arained and Condemned. . . . The 20 day was 3 ~~knights~~ [erased in original] Arained and Condemned, Sir Edward [Baynham] Mr. John Litelton which was of the Consperisie and Orill' [Captain George Orell]. On the 25th she was 'tould of the Death of the late Earle Esixe at the Tower.' 'The 28 day. I went to the Court to se my Lady Warwick and the next day I went againe to se the Quene and the Day followinge I trussed vpe our stuffe to be sent into the Cuntrie, the next Day beinge the 2 day of March I tooke my Journie towards Yorkshire.'

Throughout the diary there are hardly any references to public events, here and there a casual allusion to something of wider interest when it bore directly on Lady Hoby's own life, but nothing more. Thus in 1603 'March 23 [in margin, which day the Quene departed this Life]. Mr. Hoby receiued

[1] Sir Philip Sidney's 'Stella,' Lady Hoby's sister-in-law, being the sister of her first husband, Walter Devereux.

[2] Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Philip Sidney (Lady Hoby's niece), married 1598–99 Roger Manners, fifth Earl of Rutland.

[3] Ursula, second wife of Sir Francis Walsingham.

Letters which Came from the priuie Councill to the Lord presedent and all the Justesis of the peace that our Quene was sicke, which wrought great sorowe and dread in all good subiectes hartes. These Letters were dated the 16 of March.

'The 26. This day, beinge the Lordes day, was the death of the Quene published, and our new Kinge James of Scotland proclamed Kinge to sucseede hir. God send him a Long and Hapie Reign.

'The 27. Went Mr. Hoby and myselfe towardes Yorke thinkinge to Continewe there vntill all thinges were established, but he receiued Letters from the Counsill at Yorke. We both returned from Linten the 29 day to Hacknes, where we found all quiatt, God be praised.

'April the 4 day. Came Letteres from the king that euerie Counsiller and other offecers should Continewe in their places vntill his further pleasure were knowne, bearing date 30 of March.' On April 11 they left Hackness and went to Linton and York, and on to London. 'The 28 day. Was our Late gracious Quene buried at Westminster, in that sort as became so great a prince.'

The diary breaks off rather abruptly in the middle of the page, but the entries had been getting shorter and shorter, and the last few were chiefly lists of the people who dined on Sundays at Hackness. Indeed, I am sorry to say that the last two years show a great falling off in the matter of religious thoughts and exercises; many, many days are devoted to recording bits of gossip brought by various friends. One whole page even is given up to a minute description of that evergreen subject of bucolic interest, a two-headed calf! There are, however, many other interesting details of country life which cannot be set down here. I think, however, a great part of its value is due to the fact that it was so very unvarnished a record of the writer's life; she just jotted down, sometimes the same day, sometimes a few days later, every little event she remembered, and made no effort to turn them into a readable whole. Of literary style there is no shadow of a

trace; there are a few general reflections on religion, but none on the condition of the people, the politics and events of the time; just a bare record of the everyday occupations and homely thoughts and prayers of the average Puritan woman. I know of no other document of that date which gives us just this insight.

Another value the diary possesses is that of shedding light on the comings and goings of many Yorkshire people. Lady Hoby mentions a very large number of names, and though it is impossible to identify some of them, the greater number have been traced and will be found useful for the local genealogist and historian.

Though there are many references to Sir Thomas in public and private papers, in the years after the diary ceased we hear no more of Lady Hoby. Everything, however, tends to show that they were a devoted couple and that they lived happily together, though there was a horrid local legend, without any foundation, that Sir Thomas hastened her end by kicking her downstairs. The words of his will, if nothing else, prove this to be more than improbable. 'The hon*or*able vertuous and Religious Lady, the Lady Margaret Hoby was buryed' at Hackness Sep. 6, 1633.[1] Sir Thomas Posthumous Hoby died December 30, 1640,[2] and was buried 'next unto the dust of my late most dear and only wife.' To his cousin John Sydenham he bequeaths 'the flaggon bracelet of gold with the picture of my late most dear and only wife . . . . which is fastened thereunto and which I do purpose, if God shall permit, to wear about mine arm untill and at the time of my death.'

[1] *Hackness Parish Register*, ed. Rev. Charles Johnstone and Emily J. Hart, p. 60, (1906).

[2] *Ibid.* p. 65.

THE BARDON PAPERS.

A Collection of Contemporary Documents (MS. Eg. 2124) relating to the Trial of Mary Queen of Scots, 1586.

By CHARLES COTTON, F.R.C.P.E., M.R.C.S., &c., &c., Knight of Grace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England.

The manuscripts of which this Paper contains an account have an interesting history. Their publication was intended sixty years ago. Unfortunately, this was never carried out, the manuscripts finding their way instead, in 1870, to the British Museum, where, under the title of the 'Egerton MS. 2124,' they have lain ever since more or less undisturbed.

That they were known to be in existence since 1836 is evident from the prospectus of Mr. W. Leigh's contemplated publication, where he says that, on behalf of 'an eminent author,' application had been made for copies or extracts of these papers. This author was the historian Lingard, who in his 'History of England,' Vol. VI. p. 432, mentions Mr. Leigh's collection and quotes Burghley to Hatton, September 4, the passage 'Naw and Curle wold yeld somewhat . . . hir shoulders,' slightly altering it and omitting the last part of Burghley's sentence, which gives it a different meaning. Miss Strickland, in 'Lives of the Queens of England,' under 'Elizabeth,' Vol. IV. p. 508, quoting Lingard, also refers in a footnote to Mr. Leigh's collection. The papers have also been referred to by several modern writers, but their evidence has not been critically considered.

My own interest in the manuscripts, apart from the satisfaction of reading every scrap of information on this most

interesting part of the beautiful and unfortunate Queen's history, is solely the association the papers themselves have with my wife's family, and the old house which was their home for upwards of three hundred years. The papers were found in 1834 at Bardon, in the county of Somerset, by the then owner, Mr. Wm. Leigh.

Bardon is an old-fashioned, extremely quaint house, built mostly of cob, and dates from the fifteenth century, if not earlier. It has one storey only above a low-pitched ground floor; its roof was until 1878 thatched, and its walls are covered with magnolia, pomegranate, roses, and creepers. The house is delightfully situated, and surrounded by about seventy acres of land, well timbered, and some of the Spanish chestnuts are several hundreds of years old. The house stands quite by itself about a mile from the village of Washford, and near by is St. Mary's Abbey at Cleeve, one of the most beautiful of the Cistercian abbeys in the country, and kept in excellent preservation. Two miles on the north, towards the sea, is Watchet, and at about the same distance on the east lies Williton, at the foot of the Quantocks.

The house is in the parish of St. Decuman's, Watchet, and it was here that the ancestor of Mr. Wm. Leigh came, in or before 1595, from the neighbouring county of Devon. This was Mr. Robert Leigh, who was a younger son of the Leighs of Ridge, in Morchard Bishop, a man who was a good Latin scholar and acted as private secretary or steward to Sir John St. Leger, of Eggesford and Annery, who was High Sheriff of Devon in 1562. Sir John was a near neighbour of Robert Leigh's father, Mr. John Leigh, of Ridge, where that family had lived since 1389,[1] the year in which a certain Richard Leigh married the heiress of Ridge.

To come to the time of the Bardon Papers, as they have always been called in the family, Robert Leigh (who came to St. Decuman's in 1595) had for godfather at his baptism one Robert Scudamore, a friend of his father's and of Sir John St. Leger. It is within the bounds of possibility that this

[1] See Harleian MSS. 1080, Visitation of Devon.

Robert Scudamore was a relative of John Scudamore [1] who was Clerk of the Council at the time when these papers were written. The latter, we know, was an inmate of Walsingham's house in Westminster when a letter was received from the Privy Council enjoining a closer watch on the conspirator Babington, the invited guest of Walsingham, who wished for reasons of his own to be more intimately acquainted with Babington and his treasonable practices. It is stated that when Scudamore was reading the letter from the Privy Council Babington glanced over his shoulder and noted the contents, but managed to dissemble his consternation till the evening when he contrived to escape with his co-conspirators to St. John's Wood, near Marylebone, a wooded tract infested by cut-throats and outlaws ; they were, however, soon afterwards taken at Mr. Wm. Bellamy's house at Uxendon, near Harrow-on-the-Hill. Mr. Jerome Bellamy was executed for concealing them, and his brother destroyed himself in prison to escape a like fate.

If we may suppose this connection of the Scudamores with the Leigh family, it is not difficult to understand the manner in which the Bardon Papers came into the hands of the Leighs. Thomas, the son of Robert Leigh, of St. Decuman's, who came into possession of Bardon soon after 1595, brought with him these papers, which were deposited together with other papers and documents, in an attic over the drawing-room at Bardon. This attic is lighted only by a small window in a gable. Here they were left and seemingly forgotten. Son succeeded father at Bardon, until in the course of long years the very existence of these particular papers passed out of remembrance. But though forgotten, tradition as to some connection of Bardon with Queen Mary lingered. The quaint old house in the out-of-the-way corner of West Somerset began to be associated in the

[1] Whose female relative of the same name in Queen Elizabeth's service as maid of honour the Queen had in a fit of temper so beaten as to break her finger, and then pretended that it was done accidentally by the fall of a candlestick.

minds of the peasantry with ghostly rumours, and to bear the reputation of being haunted.

One hears stories of an old lady with white hair and dressed in black silk, who is seen about the passages after dark and heard at night playing on what sounds like a harpsichord or spinet. The ghost of old Robert Leigh is said to haunt the Drive at midnight with 'a head' under his arm; and, lastly, most interesting of all, we are told of a white dove which used to fly against the window of the attic, and break it as often as it was mended. After the discovery of the papers this dove was looked upon as the spirit of Queen Mary.

Tradition in this way of some connection of the house with the Queen of Scots was kept alive through all the branches of the family, though scattered in various parts of the world.

It may appear somewhat needless, and perhaps futile, to go into such matters in dealing with a collection of papers having an historical interest only.

I will merely relate the fact that since the papers were discovered and removed by Mr. William Leigh in 1834 no white dove has been seen haunting the house, nor has any window been broken in that particular room so far as I have been able to learn; and though on the look-out for ghosts of any kind during my visit to the house in 1905, I never heard or saw anything which could be construed into a ghost, except the hooting of the owls at night or the occasional scratching of a rat.

Mr. William Leigh died in 1844, and the Bardon Papers appear to have been placed on one side until the year 1870, when their then possessor sold them to the British Museum, thinking that documents of such historic interest should be placed in the nation's keeping.

As will be seen later on, Mr. William Leigh expresses his profound ignorance as to how the papers came to be lodged at Bardon, and supposes that they had possibly been sent there by mistake together with other papers. Had his

grandfather or father known of them, some mention, he thinks, would have been made concerning them. From a careful review of all the circumstances of the discovery, and investigation into the previous history of the family, I think it may be assumed that the papers passed from Scudamore, the State official, to the first Robert Leigh somewhere about 1595, were soon after deposited at Bardon, and remained there undisturbed till found by Mr. William Leigh in 1834.

It is a matter of regret that but few of Mr. Leigh's papers or notes have been preserved, but from such as have been placed before me I have extracted valuable materials, showing that he was a man of scholarship and learning, and was well acquainted with the historical authorities of his own day; and it may be well here to put before the readers of the transcript what Mr. Leigh has to say concerning the contents of the original documents, and his opinion of the light they throw upon the whole question :—

'The six original letters from the Lord Treasurer Burghley to Queen Elizabeth's Vice-Chamberlain, Sir Christopher Hatton, and other State papers of contemporaneous interest, which I am about to lay before the public, consisting of copies of most of the legal documents used in the indictment of Mary Queen of Scots, were recently discovered at Bardon, in Somersetshire, where my ancestors and I have lived for the far greater part of the period that has elapsed since the date of the letters in 1586.

'I would fain satisfy the reasonable demand of the public to have explained how letters of such high importance in the history of my country ever found their way into a house so remote from the scene of, and so wholly unconnected with, the stirring transactions with which their dates at once connect them.

'I believe that explanation to be quite impossible. I am perfectly persuaded they there preceded the days of my grandfather, William Leigh. He was a man of unusually high attainments in his station, who, perhaps unfortunately for his family, died at an early age in 1757.

'Had he seen these papers I cannot believe it to be possible that he would not have "dying left them to his son." From that son, my father, Robert Leigh, who died in 1798, I should then have heard of them. They were first brought to my notice in October

1834. The endorsement on the bundle containing them—"Concerning the Q. of Scottes"—exactly resembles the handwriting which I have always believed to be that of my great-grandfather, Robert Leigh, who died in 1720.

'The letters bear upon their face, and by the seals of the Lord Treasurer, still extant, with the motto of the Garter, indisputable evidence of their being genuine (I wish they were less degrading) productions of that great statesman. The discovery of the papers soon persuaded me that they had brought with them the irresistibly imperative demand upon me to open to the public the perfectly new light they throw upon those most affectingly interesting transactions in our history, the trial of Babington and his associates, and its sequel, the trial and execution of Mary Queen of Scots.'

Mr. Leigh has left a long and reasoned examination of the evidence of these Bardon Papers, which cannot be printed here. One point, however, which he seeks to establish may be noticed—namely, that Mary's letter to Babington is a fabrication of the prosecution, a theory which he considers to be in keeping with the suppressions and misrepresentations revealed by several papers in this collection.

Looking a little more closely into these papers, we find that with the exception of the first two pieces which are dated—namely, the 1st, 'The several crimes wherewith the Scottish Queen is charged by the bill,' which is of June 11, 1572, and the 2nd, endorsed 'Instructions to the Lord de la Ware and others, then sent to the Queen of Scottes, 16 June, 1572'—the remainder seem to relate to the trial of 1586. The papers may be grouped as follows:—

First: Burghley's letters to Sir Christopher Hatton, which appear to be not only inedited but practically unknown.

Secondly: The drafts and notes made by or for Sir Christopher Hatton and Mr. Sergeant Puckering, which are of great historical interest as exhibiting *les dessous* of the trial, and also of extreme value to the researcher who wishes to get into contact with the original facts, and to see the brilliant light this matter throws upon the psychology of the prosecution, from which, I think, as we read, we shall be

drawn irresistibly to the conclusion that the proofs on which the prosecution relied for the conviction of the Queen of Scots had been carefully manipulated by the astute wire-pullers in Walsingham's office so as to admit of but one conclusion to her trial. It was, in fact, no vindication of offended justice that was set on foot in the proceedings at Fotheringay, but for reasons ethical, political, and juridical, which at least satisfied Elizabeth's Ministers, a conspiracy against the life of the captive Queen.

Thirdly: The *copies* of the Mary-Babington correspondence.

As might be expected, the Bardon Papers throw much light on the procedure of the trial. At the interview before the trial Mary demanded to see the 'Protestation' which she had made at Sheffield in 1572, and it was produced and read to her by Sir Thomas Bromley, Lord Chancellor, and Lord Burghley. This 'Protestation' is fol. iv. and v. of the Bardon MSS. There is also a paper (fol. viii.) containing the 'Heads of matters with Scotland,' dated May 16, 1584, in Hatton's handwriting, with many of his notes in detail as to whether her Majesty should set the Scottish Queen at liberty or otherwise (fol. ix. and x.). Then there is the 'brief' of Mr. Sergeant Puckering used at the trial (fol. l.–liv.), giving all the details, and copies of the pretended correspondence between the Queen and Babington. The particular points with which Mary charges Elizabeth in her private letters (fol. xix.). An account of certain great and extraordinary favours showed to the Scottish Queen by Elizabeth (fol. xxi.–xxiii.), and used by Burghley at the trial. Also all the sheets of the notes of Sir Christopher Hatton for the indictment and proof of the said crimes (fol. xxxix.–xliv.) alleged to have been committed by Mary, and extending over many years, beginning with the Duke of Norfolk's conspiracy, and continuing with the details of Throckmorton's scheme, and 'her ambicious and treasonable actions with Morgan and Parrey,' Englefield, Cardinal Allen, Charles Paget, Mendoza, &c.

A reference to fol. xxxviii. in the Bardon collection will show further evidence of the weakness of the proofs against the Queen. There will be found a paper endorsed by Secretary Davison 'Scottish Queen,' and in another hand 'The Scottish Queen . . . determination for her not arrainement.' It appears to be in the handwriting of Thomas Wilkes, and was despatched from Fotheringay to Secretary Davison on Monday, October 13, 1586. It describes how Burghley, one of the deputation of the Commissioners who waited upon the Queen the day before the trial, actually 'bounced' her to extort a confession to 'discharge her conscience before God, and in confessing plainly the wrong she had done to her Majesty to submit herself to the good pleasure of God.'

Sir Christopher Hatton's notes give the story of the Babington conspiracy, beginning with Ballard's conference with Paget in France, and followed by all the details of the conspiracy. But they disclose also the very important fact that in the Queen's letters to Mendoza and Paget she makes no mention whatever of any attempt being made to destroy Queen Elizabeth; and the same is to be noted in the references to her letters to Charles Paget, Englefield, the Duke of Guise, and the Bishop of Glasgow.

With regard to the famous intercepted correspondence with Babington, it may be noted that two of the letters in this collection purport to have been sent from Mary to Babington, and two from Babington to Mary in answer. Also there is a short note from Babington to Nau, asking the secretary's opinion as to the *bona-fides* of one Robert Pooley, a spy of Walsingham's, who joined the conspirators with no other view than to betray them.

It is curious that the first of these letters, that purporting to be from Mary to Babington, dated June 25, 1586, from Chartley, is merely a request that some packets which she understood had been addressed to him from France and Scotland, and meant for her, should be given to the bearer of this letter, who will safely convey them to her. It is to be

observed that these letters purporting to be from Mary are *copies*, and that during the trial at Fotheringay and to the moment of her execution she utterly denied either writing to or receiving letters from Babington.

To understand clearly the Mary-Babington correspondence contained in the Bardon Papers we must infer that a letter was forwarded to Babington having its origin in Walsingham's office and purporting to come from Mary, and that the reply to it was Babington's letter to Mary sent early in July and containing all the details of the plot. This letter, of course, was never delivered to Mary; but it alone was not sufficient for the end in view of the counter-plotters, so a further full and lengthy answer was prepared as from Mary, and dated July 17, containing to the full the evidence required to implicate Mary in the whole plot, including the assassination, and made up from the knowledge already gained from Babington's previous letter; and as we know that Walsingham owned to subjoining a postscript in one of Mary's supposed letters asking Babington to supply the names of the conspirators, we may infer that the whole letter was written at his instigation.

A case must be made out against Mary that would bring her within reach of the Act of Association. She must be proved accessory to the plot against the life of Elizabeth, and this was to be done with the aid of the Rev. Gilbert Gifford and Phellipps the forger. So, a subtle plot was concocted between Walsingham and his two allies, by which a way might be opened to the Queen of Scots to communicate with her friends with this end in view. Gifford himself was to act as messenger between Mary at Chartley and her friends, and all the correspondence was arranged to be passed as usual through Walsingham's office.

Whether this view of the case can or cannot be supported by other documentary evidence to which I have not been able to obtain access I must leave to others more expert than myself. My only desire has been to bring the matter contained in these manuscripts to the notice of students of the period.

APPENDIX.

THE CONTENTS OF THE BARDON PAPERS[1] IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM CONCERNING MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS AND THE BABINGTON CONSPIRACY.

Mr. Wm. Leigh's Prospectus . . . . . folio I.

The severall crimes wherewith the Scottishe Queene is charged by the Bill. [11 June, 1572.]

1. Collections of the Bill in Parlament againste the Q. of Scottes.
2. Scottish Q. . . . . folios II–III.

Instruccions to the L. de la Ware and others, then sent to the Q: of Scottes, 11 Jan. 1572 . . . folios IV–V.

Offers made to her Majestie by the Queene of Scottes,

1. [Offers] to her Majestie by the Sc. Queene.
2. for hir Liberty April 22, 1583 . . . folio VII.

The heades of the matters with S[cotland], May 16, 1584. folio VIII.

The Scottish Queen; certen reasons and profitable consideracions brieffelye collectid whereby it may seme good for hir Majestie too sett the Q. of Scottes at Libertye. S. Q. certen collections *pro et contra* brieffely set downe for my memory &c. Sept. 22, 1584 . . folio IX–X.

Matters wherewith the Queen of Scottes is to be chardged. folio XI–XV.

Four workers &c., for the Scottish Queene . folio XVII.

The partycular poyntes wherewith the Scottishe quene chargeth her Majestie in her pryvate letters . . folio XIX.

[Concerning the Q. of Scottes;] certaine great and extraordinarie favours shewed to the Scottish Queene [by her Ma^tie.] . . . . . folio XX–XXIII.

Letter from Lord Burghley to Sir Christofer Hatton, 4 Sept. 1586 . . . . folio XXVI–XXVII.

[1] MS. Eg. 2124.

Letter from the same to the same 12 Sept. 1586. folio XXVIII–XXIX.

Letter from the same to the same 12 Sept. 1586. folio XXX–XXXI.

Letter from the same to the same 13 Sept. 1586. folio XXXII–XXXIII.

Letter from the same to the same 15 Sept. 1586. folio XXXIV–XXXV.

Letter from the same to the same 16 Sept. 1586. folio XXXVI–XXXVII.

Dispatch from Lord Burghley at Fotheringhay to Secretary Davison, Oct. 1586, indorsed :—'The Sco : Queene . . . determinacion for her not arrainment.' folio XXXVIII.

'Yo[r] honor's Notes of the principall poinctes of the conspiracie' . . . . folio XXXIX–XLIV.

The Queene of Englandis reasons . . . folio XLV.

Obiections against the queene of Scottes. folio XLVI–XLVII.

Articles concerning the Queen of Scottes. folio XLVIII–XLIX.

Mr. Sergeant Puckering's Notes of Remembrance in the Scott Queene's cause the 29th Sept. 1586. folio L–LIV.

Reasons touching the execution of the Scottish Queen. folio LV–LVI.

Letter of Mary to Babington, 25 June 1586. folio LVII–LVIII.

Babington's Answer. July 1586 . . ditto

Babington to Naw (Secretary to Queen Mary) July 1586. folio LVII–LVIII.

Letter of Mary to Babington. 17 July 1586. folio LIX–LXII.

Letter of Babington to Mary. 3 August 1586. folio LXIII–LXIV.

Extract of a letter sent to Archebald L[d] Douglas from his neveu L[d] Falkeland in Scotland 22 Sept. 1587. folio LXV–LXVI.

The Chaunce[llor of Sco]tland's advertisment to Mr. Ashebye Embassador there. Sept. 10, 1588. folio LXVII–LXVIII.

The manifesto for the Earl of Shrewsbury . . folio LXIX.
About the Queen of Scott's friends . . . folio LXX.

MODERN LISTS OF THE PAPERS (about 1835).
A. List of original papers found at Bardon.
folio LXXI–LXXIII.
B. List of original papers found at Bardon.
folio LXXV–LXXVI.
C. General Nature of the papers dated 8 April 1835.
folio LXXVII.–LXXX.

DISCUSSION.

Professor Pollard did not think it was necessary for the prosecution to prove Mary Stuart's knowledge of a plot against Elizabeth's life. It would have been enough to prove complicity in a project for foreign invasion. Possibly the resolution to execute Mary was due to the fear of the Government lest the Armada should receive support from domestic rebellion. As to the question of the justice or even the legality of Mary's execution, apart from the motive of self-preservation, it is apparent that the Queen's ministers were firmly convinced of the justice of the sentence executed against Mary Stuart, even though legal formalities had not been completely observed.

Mr. Frederic Harrison pointed out that the conduct of the trial was not a question of legality so much as one of expediency, depending upon political and religious considerations. Mary was clearly done to death, whether by means of forged documents or not is of little consequence, but, doubtless, the justification was great. In his researches for the 'Life of William the Silent' he had come to the conclusion that the European governments of that age were as prone to connive at political assassination or judicial dishonesty as in the Machiavellian age.

Mr. W. K. Boyd was aware of the existence of these Papers, which he was preparing to use in connection with the official 'Calendar of State Papers, Scotland.' He congratulated the Society on having called attention to their historical interest.

The Director pointed out that it was an age of formalism and regard for procedure. This was true with regard to diplomatic procedure even in the Machiavellian period as shown by the docu-

ments cited by M. Maulde la Clavière in his important work ('La Diplomatie au temps de Machiavel'). The outward legality of the Elizabethan *régime* is manifest in relation to other State trials, and the public opinion of the age would not have tolerated a disregard of these niceties. He regarded the present collection as representing Hatton's official *dossier* of the case, and these must have emanated from Hatton's 'department' through some channel which has not yet been discovered.

THE SIEGE OF MADRAS IN 1746 AND THE ACTION OF LA BOURDONNAIS

By G. W. FORREST, C.I.E.

Read May 21, 1908.

WHEN I was invited to read a paper on Indian history at a meeting of the Royal Historical Society I felt not only honoured by the request, but also gratified to learn that the Society intended to bring within its scope the encouragement of the study of the history of our Indian Empire, an empire whose progress and growth is a wondrous fact in the history of the world. The history of the Hindu kingdoms and the history of the government of the Mahomedans should be the special province of the Royal Asiatic Society, for no Englishman can deal with them in a satisfactory manner without a knowledge of the classical languages of the East. He must study and compare the original historians of India. The systematic study of the history of British dominion in India must be the most effectual agency in removing that ignorance (so strange and so discreditable) which prevails among all classes in England regarding the history of our Indian Empire. The responsibility for a just, impartial and stable government of India has been committed for good or evil into the hands of Parliament, and through Parliament to the electoral body of Great Britain ; but the electoral body must fail to discharge that great responsibility if the reading multitude remain ignorant of the history of English government in India. It is also the duty and the interest of England that the young men who are sent from our universities to be the main instruments of administering the government of our Indian Empire in all its extensive and complicated branches

should be trained to pursue the study of history in a scientific spirit, so that they may be able to apply scientific methods of inquiry to an examination in detail of the development of our administration in India. Many years spent in examining the musty documents in the Indian archives has brought home to me the value of the light which history may shed on practical problems. In India there is no problem which is old, there is no problem which is new. Measures which were supposed to be new would never have been passed if they had been studied by the dry light of history. In the Record Office under his charge the Indian civilian will generally find some material which will reward the labour of research.

In selecting a subject for my paper, I have been embarrassed by the numerous topics that were open to me. I might have selected a more recent and a more exciting period of Indian history. I might have selected a siege of greater dramatic interest. I was guided in my choice by remembering that the object of history is to discover and set forth facts. The first object of a Historical Society should be to record and diffuse the knowledge of the facts which have been discovered. I chose the Siege of Madras in 1746 as my subject because it enabled me to bring to your notice this afternoon two documents of considerable historical value. The duties of my office as Director of Records of the Government of India led me to pay sundry visits to Madras. My primary aim was to search among the archives of that Government for all papers relating to Clive. Many a happy day have I spent in the company of Stringer Lawrence who taught Clive to be a soldier, of Clive himself, of Eyre Coote, and of Bussy whose sagacity and address were equal to that of Warren Hastings, and whose courage and genius were hardly inferior to that of Clive. Gentlemen, in that stubborn struggle between French and English in Southern India for a great dominion there is sufficient glory to cover both nations. In order to complete my work, I paid sundry visits to Pondicherry, a picturesque French city transplanted to the East. I have stood by the fine statue, unlike most English statues, full of originality and

life, which France has erected as a monument of one of the most famous of her sons. The sculptor has succeeded in giving the magnificent head, the lofty and wise forehead, and the intellectual face full of energy and penetration, of the great French administrator—Dupleix. When I was at Pondicherry I was taken to the house of a native gentleman, where we saw hanging on a wall the watch and a miniature of Dupleix given to their ancestor Ranga Pillai. Below them burn a lamp. It is now regarded as a household shrine. Ranga Pillai held the post of chief *dubash*, or the *broker* who transacted business with the natives for the Pondicherry Government. He was on intimate terms with Dupleix and his wife, who seem to have had the greatest confidence in his integrity and judgment. General Macleod, R.A., Consular Agent at Pondicherry, informed me that Ranga Pillai had left a most valuable diary. In 1892 General Macleod and myself brought to the notice of the Madras Government the existence of the diary, and it was suggested that the matter which it contained was of such interest and value that it was highly desirable that a copy of it should be obtained, and a translation made of this and published. The Madras Government, which was then presided over by Lord Wenlock, readily adopted the suggestion, and after considerable research the undoubted originals of volumes i. and ii. and the last volume were discovered. They have been transcribed, and two volumes of translation published. They have been edited with the utmost care by Sir Frederick Price, who on his retirement from the Madras Civil Service after a long and distinguished career has devoted his time to so laborious a task.[1] The diary, never meant for publication, is a very

[1] 'In 1846 M. Gallois Montbrun, the father of the gentleman who until recently was Mayor of Pondicherry—to whose courteous help in making search and enquiry regarding the diary I desire here to express my indebtedness—unearthed the manuscript, which up to then had lain unheeded in the house of the representatives of the family. M. Montbrun, who took the deepest interest in old vernacular writings, then proceeded to make a copy of it. But he apparently started with selections only, for the volume from which the translation for the Government of Madras was originally made is full of breaks. This was not

human document, and it reveals to us the habits and manners of the time. It brings to life Dupleix and his wife, whose influence on his career was so great. She was a widow; her father was French, her mother an Indo-Portuguese. She was born and educated in India. Her brains, her strength of character, her diplomatic skill, her knowledge of the native languages (she corresponded with the native princes in their own language) were of the utmost service in forwarding the political schemes of her husband. She was to Dupleix what the beloved Marian was to Warren Hastings. Macintosh, 'the man of promise,' said that Jonathan Duncan had been Brahminised and Wellesley Sultanised. Ranga Pillai reveals to us that Dupleix was both 'Brahminised' and 'Sultanised' and this accounts in a great measure for his failure. I shall illustrate the lecture by extracts from his diary. I also intend to read to you an important document which contains some fresh evidence as to whether La Bourdonnais received a large present from the English for the restoration to them of Madras.

In a paper on a particular period of English history the reader may fairly assume the possession by the audience of a certain knowledge of the events which preceded it. But I am sorry to say that the same test does not always apply in the case of Indian history. It may therefore be desirable to give a brief account of the rise of Madras and Pondicherry,

observed until the actual work of editing was commenced. The omissions then noticed led to inquiry, and it was ascertained that M. Montbrun had subsequently supplied the blanks by a supplemental volume, which, however, was not forthcoming. Further search was made, and this resulted in the discovery of the undoubted originals of volumes i. and ii. The volume now being published is practically a fresh translation from these. —Ranga Pillai's *Diary*, vol. i. General Introduction, pp. xiii, xiv. Another copy of the *Diary*, which is in the National Library in Paris, was made by M. Areel, but at present it is impossible to ascertain whether it is perfect. In 1870 was published *Le Siège de Pondichéry en* 1746 : *Extrait des Mémoires Inédits de Ranga Poullé Divan de la Compagnie des Indes*, par F. N. Laude, Procureur-Général. In 1889, M. Julien Vinson, Professor of the Special School of Living Oriental Languages at Paris, published a translation of some portions of it, which he followed up in 1894 by a volume amplifying these, and bearing the title of *Les Français dans l'Inde*. This, however, does not go beyond 1748, and is composed of extracts referring only to a few special matters.'

and of the leading events which preceded the siege of the former city in 1746.[1]

The foundation of Fort St. George was due to the struggle between the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English as to who should enjoy the trade between India and the Spice Islands. In 1611, eleven years after Elizabeth had granted the first charter to 'the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies,' Captain Hippon was despatched by the directors of the India Company in the ship *Globe* to open a trade with the Coromandel coast. He was accompanied by two Dutch merchants, Peter Floris and Lucas Antheunis.[2] The English and Dutch were both attracted to the eastern coast of Hindostan by the same object. They wished to purchase painted cloths, or Indian cotton goods, and take them to the Moluccas in exchange for spices to be sold in Europe. The *Globe* touched at Pulicat, where the Dutch had established a factory and built a fort. The Dutch governor, Van Wersecke, refused to allow the English to trade. Hippon, therefore, left Pulicat and coasted up the Bay of Bengal till he reached Masulipatam at the mouth of the Kistna, then the principal port of that part of India. At Masulipatam the English managed to establish a small agency, which was put under a chief, and a council was chosen from the merchants. Fifteen years later, in 1626, a factory was established and fortified at Armagon, a roadstead south of Masulipatam, and forty miles north of Pulicat. It was the first fortification erected by the English in India. In the year 1628–9 Armagon is described as defended by twelve pieces of cannon mounted round the factory, and by a guard

[1] With regard to the early history of Madras, we owe a good deal to Mr. Talboy Wheeler, to whose work in the field of Indian history sufficient justice has not been done; to Mr. Pringle, whose early death prevented the completion of his most excellent Selections from the *Madras Records*; to Mr. William Foster, Superintendent of Records at the India Office, who is so willing to aid any fellow-labourer, and to bestow on him the fruits of his own research.

[2] The Journal of Peter Floris is in the India Office. Extracts from it were printed by Purchas.

of twenty-three factors and soldiers. The factory at Masulipatam was transferred in 1629 to this fortress owing to the oppression of the native governor. But Armagon was not a good entrepôt for the supply of 'white cloths,' and three years later the agency was again established at Masulipatam.

In 1639, Francis Day, one of the council at Masulipatam, was sent to examine the country in the vicinity of the station which the Portuguese, who were then friendly to us, had established at St. Thomé.[1] Day 'was Inordered to goe towards St. Thomay to see what payntings [2] those parts doth afforde, as alsoe to see whether any place were fitt to fortifie upon.' In August of the same year, three years before the outbreak of the Civil War in England, Day, 'haveinge Dispatcht what hee was sent about,' returned to Masulipatam and told his colleagues what he had done.

'And, first, he makes it appeare to us that at a place Called Madraspatam, neare St. Thomay, the best paintings are made, or as good as anywhere on this Coast, likwise Exellant long Cloath, Morrees,[3] and percalla [4] (of which wee have seene Musters), and better Cheape by 20 per cent., then anywhere Else. The Nague [5] of that place is very Desirous of our residence there, for hee hath made us very fayre proffers to that Effect; for, first, hee proffers to build a forte, in what manner wee please, upon a high plott of ground adjoyneinge to the sea, where a ship of any Burthen may Ride within Muskett shott, Close by a river which is Capeable of a Vessel of 50 Tonns; and upon possession given us by him, and not before, to pay what Charges hee shall have disbursed.'[6]

[1] Alfred the Great sent an embassy, under Bishop Sighelm, of Sherborne, to do honour to the tomb of a Holy Thomas. Gibbon hints that the envoys got no further than Alexandria, the great centre-point of the East and West, where they collected their cargo, and invented the legend. According to the legend of antiquity the Gospel was preached in India by St. Thomas. It was preached in the eighth century by Thomas Cana, an Armenian merchant, as Marco Polo was informed on the spot, at Meleapoor, the native name for St. Thomé.

[2] Payntings, painted cloths, *i.e.* chintz.

[3] Morrees (*mūri*), blue cloth.

[4] Percalla (*parkālā*), spangled cloth.

[5] Naik, H. (*Nāyak*) was a general name for the Lords of Madura and other places in Southern India until the middle of the tenth century.

[6] *The Founding of Fort St. George, Madras*, by William Foster, p. 10.

Day was 'dispeeded' back to Madraspatam, and so important was the new acquisition considered that the agency at Masulipatam directed him to begin building the fort without waiting for the orders of the Court from England.

In their first letter, dated September 20, 1642, 'the Agent and Council on the Coast of Coromandel' write:

'When wee doe (as that wee doe often) fall into Consideration how much your Worships are displeased with us, for proceedinge on this worke, it even breakes some of our hearts. 'Tis now to late to wish it undone, and yett wee may not but tell you that if soe bee your Worships will follow this Coast Trade (or rather the Karnatt) this place may proove as good as the best, but all things must have its growth and tyme, but on the contrary, if your Worships will not continew it, you may doe it away to proffiett, and not hazard the loss of a man, if you Resolve upon the latter, after advice given once within 12 mo, it may with ease be effected, unless the Moores Conquer the Country before . . . . wee have found him [our naique] still as good as his word, onely in the Forts erection (the Mayne thinge of all); but in that thinge he excuseth himself.'[1]

Day offered 'to pay the Interest of all the monies that should be expended till the Forte was finished,' but their worships at home refused 'to allow of any Charge of [at?] all neither in building or payeing of Garrison.'

The fort, as first erected, was but a small place, not a quarter of a mile long, only a hundred yards wide from east to west, and situated in the north-east corner of the present fort. Five years after its first erection its total cost had been only Rs. 23,000, and the highest estimate of a sufficient garrison was one hundred soldiers. In 1652, thirteen years after its foundation, it was considered safe with a garrison of twenty men. No great change was made in it for a century.

Madras, however, proved 'as good as the best.' A large number of natives sought protection of the English. Thus a prosperous settlement arose outside the English bounds

[1] *Original Correspondence*, No. 1791.

which part was styled the Black Town, the original settlement, where none but Europeans were allowed to reside, being known as the White Town. When war was declared between England and France in 1744, the town had, owing to the trade from England to the coast of Coromandel, 'to the great returnes it makes in callicoes and muslins,' to its considerable trade with China, Persia and Mocha, and to its 'not being a great way from the diamond mines of Golconda,' risen 'to a degree of opulence and reputation which rendered it inferior to none of the European establishments in trade except Goa and Batavia.' There were 250,000 inhabitants in the Company's territory, of which the greatest part were natives of India of various castes and religions. The English in the colony, however, did not exceed the number of 300 men, and 200 of these were soldiers who composed the garrison, 'but none of them, excepting two or three of their officers, had ever seen any other service than that of the parade.' Fort St. George 'was surrounded with a slender wall, defended with four bastions and as many batteries,' but these were very slight and defective in their construction, nor had they any outworks to defend them. The principal buildings inside were fifty good houses in which the chief Europeans resided, an English and a Roman Catholic church, the warehouse of the Company and the factory in which their servants lived.

On September 24, 1744, 'at a Consultation, Present Nicholas Morse, Esq., Governour and President,' it was 'Agreed to despatch a Pattamar [1] this evening at Bombay to advise of the war with France lest any accident should have befallen the *King William*.' It was further agreed, 'The war with France being broke out and it being therefore highly proper to have our garrison in the best order we can, and as it happened that for some months past there have not been less than forty to fifty of the Military on the Sick Roll which, with the servants hitherto allowed the officers, reduces considerably the number of Mounting Men, Its agreed

[1] *Pattimar*, Tam., messenger.

that in lieu of servants each Lieutenant have five (5) Pagodas [1] per month and Each Ensign four (4), and that this be continued to them only so long as the Board shall think it necessary.' [2] This is the first mention in the records of that long combat which was to determine the issue whether France or England should win an empire in Asia.

On August 27, 1664, twenty-five years after Francis Day had obtained permission to form the settlement of Madras, Louis XIV., induced by Colbert, issued an edict founding the French East India Company.[3] The French, settling to work with considerable zeal, established factories at Surat and other places on the Malabar coast. In 1672 they took from the Dutch, with whom they were at war, the splendid harbour of Trincomalee ; but the Dutch soon retook it. The French then passed over to the Coromandel coast and obtained possession of St. Thomé ; two years later they were compelled to restore it also to the Dutch. The fortune of the French East India Company, now at its lowest ebb, was revived by the far sight, courage and administrative capacity of François Martin, whose name shines with a fair and honest lustre in an age of intrigue and corruption. Martin had lent the governor of Jinji, the great mountain fortress sixty miles from Pondicherry, money he could not repay, and in return he bestowed upon him a village [4] near the coast, and gave him permission to fortify a strip of land by the sea. Here, in 1676, Martin brought sixty Frenchmen, all that remained of the factories at Ceylon and St. Thomé. 'The fortification that Martin erected could not have been of any great extent, seeing that it cost only the modest sum of seven hundred crowns.' Beneath the shelter of the slender walls he, however, proceeded to lay out streets and to build houses for the native weavers, whom he wished to attract to

[1] A pagoda was worth forty-two fanams, or about seven shillings.

[2] The Consultations and Diary Book of the President and Governor, &c., Council of Fort St. George, September 24, 1744.

[3] *L'Inde Française avant Dupleix*, par H. Castonnel des Fosses, p. 49.

[4] It was called by the natives Puduchere, which, by degrees, was corrupted to Pondicherry.

his new settlement. The aim of his policy was to gather at Pondicherry a thrifty, loyal population, and he was wise enough to see that the best way of doing this was by respecting the manners, customs and religion of the people, and so winning their love and confidence. His policy proved eminently successful. However, just as Martin's little colony began to rise and flourish, a grave danger menaced it. Sivaji seized Jinji and threatened an attack on the new settlement. But Martin pacified the great freebooter by a present of 500 pagodas, and obtained from him a grant for the French to reside at Pondicherry in perpetuity on condition they did not interfere in the wars of the neighbouring states. Sivaji, however, insisted that the French should pay him a heavy tax on the imports and exports of the little colony, which continued to grow in wealth and importance. To protect it still further, Martin now threw around the town a wall, which was flanked by four towers, each of which mounted six guns. He had hardly finished the new fortifications when war broke out between France and Holland, and in 1693 Pondicherry was attacked by a Dutch fleet consisting of nineteen ships of war. Martin, who had only forty European soldiers to defend the place, was compelled to surrender. The Dutch, fully realising the value of their new possession, proceeded to improve the town and fortification, and make it the capital of their Indian possessions. But, five years after it had come into their hands, the treaty of Ryswick restored Pondicherry to the French. Martin hastened from France to resume possession of the city which he had founded, but the Dutch refused to restore it until they had been handsomely compensated for the improvements they had made. A French writer with patriotic indignation states: 'The sale, characteristic of a nation of traders, took place on the 17th September 1699, when Martin paid 16,000 pagodas to the Director of the Dutch Company as the price of the improvements and fortifications they had made.' Under the wise and vigorous administration of Martin, the town rapidly grew in prosperity. He

mapped out new streets on the lines of an important European capital, erected substantial houses, warehouses and shops, and built a palace for the governor. When the English had only a small factory at Calcutta, and Chowringee was a malarious swamp, Pondicherry was a flourishing town with fifty thousand inhabitants. For the greater protection of the city Martin proceeded to construct a citadel after the model of Tournay. When finished, the new fortress was consecrated with great pomp and ceremony. On August 25, 1706, a stately procession of laymen and priests, chanting the *Te Deum* and *Exaudiat*, wended its way around the town, and as it reached the bastion, the cannons sent forth a roar of triumph and joy. This was the crowning day of François Martin's life. A few months later the patriot's manly heart ceased to beat.

After the death of François Martin, two of his successors, Lenoir and Dumas, managed the Company's affairs with prudence and sagacity. Mahé and Karikal were acquired by France, and Pondicherry soon rose to distinguished importance among the European settlements in India. Dumas was succeeded by Dupleix, who, after being first member of the supreme council at Pondicherry for ten years, was appointed chief of the French factory at Chandernagore in Bengal. By his knowledge of Orientals, by his strong business capacity, he not only amassed a fortune for himself, due to the coast trade which he introduced, but he raised Chandernagore from an insignificant village on the Hooghly to a rich and populous colony. The success at Chandernagore led to his being appointed governor of Pondicherry and *ex-officio* director-general of the affairs of the French East Company. On arriving at Pondicherry he found there La Bourdonnais, whom he had known in former years. They were of the same age, both endowed with extraordinary abilities, but dissimilar in their talents and their character. Born at the ancient town of St. Malo, a nursery for hardy mariners, La Bourdonnais made several voyages to different parts of the world. He entered, when

he was twenty, the service of the French East India Company. After having served as lieutenant and second captain, he left the Company in 1727, and commanded, as 'captain and supercargo,' the *Pondicherry*, a special vessel which had been commissioned by Lenoir and the council of Pondicherry. For five years he traded on the coast. Then he quarrelled with Lenoir and entered the Portuguese service, in which he remained for two years. In 1733, he returned to France. He sent to the ministry a report on the situation in India, and was appointed, in 1735, governor of the Isle of France and Bourbon. The appointment was criticised, and Dupleix wrote at the time: 'I am utterly amazed. The Company must have lost its head. God grant that they may not repent the step. The petulance and vivacity of the man make me fear it. The Company has been fascinated by the rigmaroles of this flighty spirit.'[1] Dupleix was, however, jealous of La Bourdonnais, and saw in him a rival for the government of Pondicherry. The islands of Mauritius and Bourbon had been taken possession of by the French after they had been abandoned by the Dutch and the Portuguese. When La Bourdonnais arrived, they were in a lamentable state of barbarism and prostration, induced by extravagant abuse and cruel misgovernment. He made them healthy and prosperous. He taught the art of agriculture to the runaway slaves who inhabited the dense forests in the interior, and introduced the culture of the sugar-cane, cotton and indigo; he constructed vehicles, broke in bulls, and made roads for their commerce to the sea. He built docks, quays, mills, arsenals; also a hospital, which he visited every day. By his constant personal supervision, and the healthy stimulus of his strong character, the islands became, during the eleven years of his rule, flourishing colonies, and the naval arsenal in the East. But strong complaints were brought by 'captains of ships, and other visitants of the islands, whom he checked in their unreasonable demands, and from whom he exacted the discharge of their duties,' to

[1] *Dupleix*, by Prosper Cultru, p. 200.

the ears of the Company's directors, who, 'with too little knowledge for accurate judgment, and too little interest for careful inquiry, inferred culpability, because there was accusation.' [1]

In 1739, La Bourdonnais returned to France. He saw that war with England must shortly arise, and he proposed to certain friends that they should subscribe to equip a fleet to cruise in search of English merchantmen. But the ministry proposed to send out a fleet composed partly of the king's ships and partly of the Company's ships, with La Bourdonnais in command, and La Bourdonnais gives us no explanation of this change of plan. On April 5, 1741, he sailed from L'Orient with five of the Company's ships, and arrived at the Isle of France on August 14. He there learnt that the Mahrattas had invaded the Carnatic and that the garrisons had left the islands, summoned by Dumas, the governor of Pondicherry, who feared a siege. La Bourdonnais, when he reached Pondicherry, found the danger had blown over, but that Mahé had been eight months blockaded.

On January 14, 1742, Dupleix reached Pondicherry and succeeded Dumas as governor. To him La Bourdonnais explained his project of capturing Madras when war was declared. Dupleix approved of it and sent Paradis, an able Swiss soldier and an engineer, on a secret mission to Madras, who examined the place with sufficient precision to enable him to draw up a memorandum and prepare a plan of attack. La Bourdonnais proceeded to Mahé, chastised the enemy, re-established the factory, and then returned to the Mauritius, ready to prey upon the English commerce. But the finances of the French Company did not admit of their keeping ships without some commercial profit, and, hoping that neutrality would be maintained in India, they recalled the fleet. It was a grave error.

When the ministers in England heard of the preparations made by the French, they sent a squadron of men-of-war in 1744 under Commander Barnet to India. It consisted of two sixty-gun ships, one of fifty, and a frigate of twenty

[1] Mill, *History of India*, vol. iii. p. 41.

guns. They sailed first to the straits between India and China, where they took 'three French ships returning from China to Europe, and one returning from Manilha to Pondicherry, the cargoes of which prizes produced the sum of 180,000*l.* sterling. They also took a French East India ship, which was converted into an English man-of-war of forty guns.[1] In July 1745 the squadron appeared upon the coast of Coromandel, at which time the garrison of Pondicherry consisted of no more than 436 Europeans, and its fortifications were still incomplete. This was due to no fault of Dupleix, for as soon as he took charge, he began to reform the administration, to discipline the soldiers, to recruit sepoys and to build fortifications. But, on September 18, 1743, he received a despatch from the Company which told him 'to make a point of reducing all expenses by at least one half, and to suspend all outlay on buildings and fortifications.' He obeyed the first order. But he continued with renewed vigour the construction of the fortifications. He advanced to the treasury of the Company 'cinq cent mille livres'; a part of it he employed on the fortifications, and the remainder in supplying cargoes for two ships, which he sent post-haste to France for arms, munition of war and men. But before reinforcements could reach him or the fortifications be completed, the English squadron anchored off Fort St. David. Pondicherry was now at their mercy. Happily for the French, the Nawab of the Carnatic informed the Madras government that their ships of war must not 'commit any hostilities by land against the French possessions' within his territories. At the same time he assured the English that 'he would oblige the French to observe the same law of neutrality, if their force should hereafter become superior to that of the English.'

Moved by these threats, the authorities at Madras persuaded Barnet to suspend his attack. He sent one of the fifty-gun ships to cruise at the entrance of the Ganges, where she took several ships returning to Bengal. Soon after, the

[1] Orme, vol. i. p. 61.

approach of the monsoon compelled him to leave the coast.

In the beginning of 1746 the squadron returned to the coast of Coromandel, and was reinforced by two fifty-gun ships and a frigate of twenty guns from England. The sixty-gun ship however, in which Barnet hoisted his flag, was found unfit for action, and, together with the frigate, was sent back to England. The French squadron was now daily expected. But months went on and no French ships could be seen. 'The 29th April 1745, Mr. Barnet departed this life at this place [Fort St. David] when all the ships were here or near us.' His death was generally regretted as a public loss, 'and indeed he was a man of great abilities in public affairs.' Captain Peyton then commanded the squadron as senior captain. On June 9, the *Princess Mary*, laden with bales and treasure, 'sailed to Madras under convoy of his Majesty's Ship the *Lively*, as did the rest of the squadron for Trancomolay.' But just as they were getting to the Bay, the *Preston's* bowspirit was sprung and they had to bear away to Negapatam. 'On the 25 at daybreak, from the masthead in Negapatam road, they made several ships in the offing to which they went out and found them to be nine (9) French ships.'

On September 18, in the previous year, 1744, the frigate *La Fière* had arrived at the Mauritius with the news that war had been declared. She also brought a message from the directors to La Bourdonnais forbidding him to commence hostilities; he was only to return them. La Bourdonnais began at once to arm all the Company's ships he could collect, and he wrote to Dupleix that he could assemble six vessels and 1,500 to 1,800 men. These, with 300 to 400 furnished by Dupleix, would make a little army with which they might carry out some enterprise that would repair their losses. He proposed that he should send half of his ships to cruise for the Company and half for Dupleix and himself. He further suggested the vessels should cruise between the Cape and St. Helena, because, in all probability, the Indian

Seas would be a neutral region. Dupleix replied that he had approached the English governor, and therefore counted on the maintenance of peace. He added that he had very few soldiers, barely enough to guard Pondicherry. He also disapproved of the cruise in the Atlantic as it would be contrary to the wishes of the Company, who could not authorise their officers to sail under the conditions proposed by La Bourdonnais, without running the risk of ruining their ordinary commerce, which was less protected than that of the English. But the capture of the China ships by Barnet, in some of which Dupleix had a pecuniary interest, roused his wrath, and drove from his mind all thoughts of neutrality. He set about equipping the country ships to follow the squadron. La Bourdonnais now sent him a plan of his voyage, and inquired if the scheme of 1741 for taking Madras was still feasible. He asked for the service of Paradis and a body of sepoys. He was certain that, with the aid of Dupleix, he could easily take and retain Madras. He had studied Paradis's plan, and he sent Dupleix the result of his study. 'It is,' says he, 'the only means of repairing our loss.' A little later he asked Dupleix to send him clothes for his troops, arms and the munitions of war. Dupleix complied with the greatest good-nature with these requests. He was full of zeal for the enterprise, and burning to have his revenge for the loss of the China ships. He once more had Madras thoroughly explored, and procured an account of the place from Madame Baraval, his wife's daughter, who was married to an Englishman. He had a plan made on a large scale indicating the measures proposed by Paradis for taking the fort.[1]

Meanwhile the departure of the ships which La Bourdonnais had equipped was delayed by the news that a fleet was being sent from France. La Bourdonnais was appointed to the command, and it was suggested to him that, after having landed the treasure on board the ships at Pondicherry, he should proceed to the Bay of Bengal. He might, if he

[1] *Dupleix*, by Prosper Cultru, p. 203.

wished, return to the Mauritius about June 1746, and start for France with the fleet in 1747. But the French fleet, which was expected in October, did not reach the Mauritius till January 1746. They arrived in bad order, and only one was armed. La Bourdonnais with characteristic energy proceeded to repair and equip them, and as soon as they were ready he sent them to Madagascar. On March 24 he sailed in the last ship from the Mauritius. Before his ships left Madagascar they were driven from their anchorage and scattered by a hurricane. One was lost and the rest greatly damaged. La Bourdonnais, collecting them in the bay of a desert island on the coast of Madagascar, refitted them, 'overcoming the greatest difficulties with such indefatigable perseverance and activity as intitles him to a reputation equal to that of the ablest marine officer his country has produced.'[1] In forty-eight days the fleet was again ready for sea. It now consisted of nine sail containing 3,342 men, among whom were 720 blacks and from three to four hundred sick. In passing the island of Ceylon they heard the English fleet was at hand, and on June 25 the British ships appeared to windward, advancing in full sail towards them.

La Bourdonnais knew that he was superior to the English in number of men, but greatly inferior in weight of cannon. He therefore determined to gain, if possible, the wind and to board. But Peyton, seeing his design, kept the wind and so frustrated it. The breeze was also light, and it was not till four in the afternoon that a distant fight began and lasted till about seven, when it grew dark. 'In the English squadron,' the despatch states, 'were Fourteen killed and Forty Six wounded, but not one killed or wounded in the *Medway*.' The *Medway* was Peyton's ship.[2]

[1] Orme, i. 63. Mill writes: 'Here the operations of repairing were to be renewed, and in still more unfavourable circumstances. To get the wood they required, a road was made across a marsh, a league in circumference; the rains were incessant; disease broke out among the people; and many of the officers showed a bad disposition; yet the work was prosecuted with so much efficiency, that in forty-eight days the fleet was ready for sea.'—Vol. iii. p. 44.

[2] Despatch from Fort St. David, October 17, 1746. Orme states: 'The fight finished with the entrance of the night; about thirty-five men were killed

The next morning the two squadrons were near one another, according to the despatch, and continued so all the day. 'At four in the afternoon Capt. Payton summoned a Council of War when it was agreed not to engage the enemy but to proceed to Trincomalay Bay.' The resolution was mainly due to the sixty-gun ship being extremely leaky. The English ships made sail for the harbour of Trincomalee, and in the evening lost sight of the French squadron, which had lain to the whole day as if challenging the English, who were to windward, to bear down and renew the fight. 'This appearance of resolution in M. De la Bourdonnais,' writes Orme, 'was no more than a feint, practised to deter the English from doing what most he dreaded; for most of his ships had expended the greatest part of their ammunition, and several of them had not victuals on board for twenty-four hours.'[1] La Bourdonnais in his 'Memoirs' states that it was not a feint, and that it was with supreme regret that he saw the English escape him.

On Saturday, July 9, 1746, Ranga Pillai enters in his diary:

'This evening at 5, M. de la Bourdonnais disembarked [at Pondicherry], and as he did so, fifteen guns were discharged by his ship. Another salute of fifteen guns was fired on his arrival at the sea-gate, where he was met by the Deputy Governor and other members of the Council, and by the Captain and other officers—M. Dupleix alone excepted—and was escorted by them to the Governor's residence. On M. de la Bourdonnais entering this, the Governor received him at the Sentinel's post, with an embrace, and conducted him into the courtyard, when a salute of fifteen guns was again fired. They afterwards conversed together for a while in the open space on the other side of the verandah.'[2]

in the English squadron, and the greatest part of these on board the forty-gun ship. We are not exactly informed of the loss sustained by the French; but it was believed that the killed and wounded together did not amount to less than 300. One of their ships, that which mounted thirty guns, was in less than half an hour dismasted and so much shattered that immediately after the action Mr. De la Bourdonnais ordered her to proceed to Bengal to be refitted in the Ganges.'—Vol. i. p. 64.

[1] Orme, vol. i. p. 64.

[2] Ranga Pillai's *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 113.

Four days later, as La Bourdonnais was leaving Pondicherry, the soldiers at the gate turned out and formed up as a guard of honour. He, however, sent word to them by his peon that such a ceremonial was unnecessary as he was not wearing uniform, but had on only a dressing-gown and night-cap. 'Nevertheless they paid him the honour and beat the Tambour.' On his return the guards at the gates were anxious to pay him the same honour, but he begged they would do nothing of the sort. He afterwards sent for Captain Duquesne:[1]

'Because I am within the jurisdiction of your Governor, your guards, when I pass them, beat the "Tambour" for me, an honour accorded to the Deputy Governor. But I suppose that you will not take exception to the beating, as is done in the case of the Governor, of the 'Tambour-aux-champs" for me when surrounded by my own majors, captains, and soldiers?'

M. Duquesne replied that he could not allow it.

On the following day Ranga Pillai informs us:[3]

'M. de la Bourdonnais landed some of those who were aboard the ships; and mustering all his soldiers, who had been posted at the city gates in forties and fifties, as also his officers, and the men whom he had brought ashore, held a parade opposite to the Governor's house, and reviewed them. He then stood in their midst, when he was saluted by them with their weapons, after the manner of the Governor. After the parade was over, he repaired to M. Desjardins' house, which had been assigned to him as a residence. The parade held by M. de la Bourdonnais was not attended or witnessed by M. Dupleix, who pretended to be asleep all the while, and then having dressed after the troops had dispersed, came out to sit as usual in the courtyard. The Deputy Governor and others, who had for some time been waiting outside, presented themselves before him. M. de la Bourdonnais also paid him a visit. The Governor and he entertain a mutual dislike for one another. The former is aggrieved because M. de la Bourdonnais does not regard himself as his subor-

[1] Ranga Pillai's *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 121.

[2] This was the major form of salute, and was accorded only to officials of high degree. It still exists in the French army.

[3] Ranga Pillai's *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 223.

dinate, maintains a guard of honour of troopers, keeps at his residence a party of soldiers and troopers, and conducts everything independently, and without consultation with him; whilst M. de la Bourdonnais holds that he is on a par with the Governor, and is consequently entitled to all the honours accorded to that functionary; and that the control of military operations resting wholly with him, he is not bound to consult the Governor in matters connected therewith. Thus business is transacted between them with but little cordiality. The future development of this remains to be seen.'

On July 16, in a conversation with Ranga Pillai, Dupleix gave vent to his feelings:[1]

'In the course of conversation with me this morning at 9, the Governor said as follows: "M. de la Bourdonnais is a strange man, with an ungovernable temper. He is a babbler. His injustice to Mascareigne drove the inhabitants there to petition against him to the Minister in France. He was on the point of being executed; but thanks to his good luck, which seems to attend him still, he effected his escape by propitiating with lavish presents M. de Fulvy, the brother of the Comptroller-General, who was open to bribes. With a squadron of seven sail he set out on an expedition to Arabia, boasting that he would subjugate that country. But he failed in this project, and thereby caused serious loss to the Company. He is a great impostor." M. Dupleix said many other disparaging things of M. de la Bourdonnais. Not only did I throughout express myself in harmony with his views, but I dwelt at length, and in highly eulogistic terms, on the address with which he administered the affairs of this city at so critical a time as the present.'

On July 17 La Bourdonnais wrote to Dupleix asking for sixty large cannon, a body of men, and food for the squadron. He intended to search for the English vessels, and, having defeated them, return and attack Madras. He consulted Dupleix as to what he was to do with the town. Was he to occupy it, or demolish it? He awaited the decision of Dupleix, and declared that 'all the glory was for him, whose help had made the expedition possible.' Dupleix supplied him with men, ammunition, and twenty-six guns, though he writes, 'These cannons leave many blanks in our ramparts.'

[1] Ranga Pillai's *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 128.

On August 3 Ranga Pillai enters in his diary :

'At noon to-day M. de la Bourdonnais and the Governor, M. Dupleix, were entertained by M. de la Villebague at his house. At about 3, they left in palanquins ; that of M. de la Bourdonnais preceding that of M. Dupleix. As they passed out together through the sea-gate, the "Tambour-aux-champs" was beaten. They alighted at the custom-house, and there, as he was starting on an expedition against Commodore Peyton who commands the English fleet, M. de la Bourdonnais bade M. Dupleix farewell. A salute of twenty-one guns was then fired. The Governor accompanied M. de la Bourdonnais to the boat, embracing and kissing him before he embarked. When the boat with M. de la Bourdonnais on board pushed off from the shore, there was another salute of twenty-one guns. The Governor watched it until it had passed the outer surf, then returned to his house, and afterwards went out for a drive.'[1]

Ranga Pillai enters in his diary on August 4 : 'The fleet of M. de la Bourdonnais consisting of eight ships set sail at 11 this forenoon to seek the English at Galle, Colombo, Jaffna, and Trincomalee.' Orme says the French squadron sailed from Pondicherry on July 24, 'working to the southward against the southern monsoon and on the 6th of August discovered that of the English which had been refitted at Trincomalee.'

Mill says : 'On the 17th [August] he [La Bourdonnais] descried the English fleet off Negapatam, and hoisted Dutch colours as a decoy. The English understood the stratagem, changed their course and fled.' Ranga Pillai gives an interesting account founded on a letter written by La Bourdonnais at the time of his landing at Negapatam. The diarist states :

'The Governor met M. de la Bourdonnais on the beach and conducted him in state along the carpeted way to the fire. M. de la Bourdonnais was entertained at a great banquet. The Governor executed to his guest a deed binding himself to pay the value of the ships (two English ships which the French had captured and the Dutch purchased) within fifteen days, and obtained from him a

[1] Ranga Pillai's *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 166.

general safe conduct to protect the Dutch shipping from molestation by the French. Whilst M. de la Bourdonnais was still at table news was brought to him that five English men-of-war were in sight to the southward. He hastily took his departure and, accompanied by the Governor and all his men, proceeded to the beach, where, after bidding farewell to his host, he stepped into the boat in which he had come ashore. The Governor watched its progress until it had conveyed M. de la Bourdonnais on board. He then left the beach and returned to the fort. By 2 o'clock M. de la Bourdonnais had reached his ship and cleared for action.'

According to Ranga Pillai, night being at hand, La Bourdonnais waited for the morning to engage the enemy. 'When the day dawned, however, no English ships were to be seen.' On August 18 the French squadron appeared before Madras 'and fired on the *Princess Mary*, which was returned from the ship and from the fort. Each ship gave a broadside as she stood to the northward and another as she returned, and then stood to the southward again. We are since informed they had two motives for this expedition. One was to make a plea with the country government that the English had committed the first hostility ashore and the other to see if Captain Peyton would come to our assistance or not.' The inhabitants of Madras anxiously watched for the appearance of the English squadron on which their safety depended, and they were struck with consternation when they heard 'that on the 23rd Captain Peyton with his squadron stood into Pullicat Road, where he sent his lieutenant, Mr. Weeims, on board a vessel in the Road, who was there told of all the circumstances of their attacking the *Princess Mary*, and of their then being between Madras and Pondicherry, on which he disappeared and has never since been heard of,[1] or from, by any of the English, though there has been no cost or pains spar'd for that Purpose as may easily be imagined from the since Mellancholly situation of affairs on the Coast. The last letter that was

[1] Orme states: 'They proceeded to Bengal; for the 60-gun ship was now so leaky, that it was feared the shock of firing her own cannon would sink her if she should be brought into an engagement.'—Vol. i. p. 67.

receivd from anyone belonging to the squadron was from Captain Payton to Governor Morse dated the 4th August when he was just come out from refitting. This unhappy conduct of his so animated our enemys that they determined on attacking Fort St. George. We call it unhappy because it has truly proved so in its consequences, though what reasons Captain Payton may have had for this Proceeding we know not.'

Morse, the governor of Madras, now called on the Nawab of the Carnatic to fulfil his promise of restraining the French from committing hostilities against them by land. But he omitted to forward a present of money, and consequently the Nawab took no steps to prevent them from attacking Madras. When war became imminent, the French governors, Dumas and Dupleix, made all possible preparations for the struggle; the English, according to a well-established custom, did nothing. The day after news reached them that war had been declared they chose a safe site for a powder magazine. But it was never built. The fort was entirely unfit to stand a siege.

'The principal officer among the garrison was one Peter Eckman, an ignorant, superannuated Swede, who had been a common soldier, and now bore the rank of a first lieutenant; he was assisted by two other lieutenants and seven ensigns. To all which may be further added, that though the garrison had near 200 pieces of cannon, yet they wanted men that were capable of playing them; besides that the want of military stores was equal to the paucity of military men.'[1] Long before the war with France, the English Company had promised to augment the garrison of Madras to 600 Europeans, 'exclusive of the gun-room crew,' but they never sent the recruits. The time had now come when European soldiers were sorely needed.

On August 24, 1746, Ranga Pillai enters in his diary, 'The eight ships comprising M. de la Bourdonnais' fleet came to an anchor in the roads last night. A salute of

[1] Despatch from Fort St. David, October 17, 1746.

fifteen guns was fired by only the commanding officer's ship, the *Achille*. M. de la Bourdonnais, who was ill with fever and diarrhœa, wrapped himself up in his dressing gown, covered his head with a cap, and in this costume came ashore. On landing, he was put into a closed palanquin and conveyed to the house of the Governor who had previously ordered that it should be cleared of every one, and guarded by armed soldiers, who were posted in the streets running to the west and east of the building.' . . . 'The palanquin carrying M. de la Bourdonnais was brought to the residence of the Governor, into whose presence he was, on alighting, supported by two men, one on either side. The Governor came forward to meet him, embraced him, and took him into a room where they had a conference, in which M. Paradis took part.'[1]

On August 29, M. Desmares, a merchant, met Ranga Pillai on his way to the Governor's house and informed him what had taken place at the conference.

'The Governor asked why the expedition against Madras had been delayed. M. de la Bourdonnais replied: "The orders which I have received from the Company, and from the Government, are that I should attack the English ships wherever I might fall in with them at sea. My instructions do not extend to fighting on shore. I therefore cannot undertake a land attack. If you desire me to do so, I will; but I must first have the written order of your Council to that effect." "Was it not at your desire, expressed in writing," the Governor exclaimed, "that I made all these preparations for the expedition? I cannot understand why you now demand the Council's orders." High words then ensued between them. The Councillors were next summoned, but they declined all responsibility, stating that the Governor and M. de la Bourdonnais had not consulted them when they first planned the undertaking. The whole amount expended up to the present on this may, perhaps, have to be borne by the Governor himself. It is not known how it will end. M. Dupleix tried very hard to have Paradis appointed Commander in the place of M. de la Bourdonnais who is now ill; but the latter would not assent to this.'

[1] Ranga Pillai's *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 233.

Dupleix, who told La Bourdonnais that the capture of Madras was 'so necessary to the honour of the King and the welfare of the Company, that if you are prevented from carrying it out this season you must attempt it next January,' was naturally vexed at the vacillation and delay. He was a man of violent temper, and gave reins to it in his conversation with Ranga Pillai on September 4. He again abused La Bourdonnais in unmeasured terms.

'"La Bourdonnais was an utterly petty-minded man and one utterly regardless of the blow which the honour of the French has sustained." . . . "He is, however, an artful man. Although he was a party to the arrangements, he has made me alone bear the whole expense, and has thus impoverished and ruined me. On his arrival he was but a pauper bringing nothing with him but the woollen coat which he wore. Did you not then see him with your own eyes? You are a shrewd man, and there is scarcely anything of which you are not aware." He added, "The Ministers of the King of France are the cause of all this."'

On the morning of September 12, the French fleet, having on board the troops, artillery and stores intended for the siege of Madras, sailed from Pondicherry. A letter from Madras dated October 17, 1747, states: 'They came in sight the 2nd. Nine Sail, and landed 800 Europeans at Covalong, marched to Thome, there landed more.' The neighbourhood covered with country houses was given up to pillage, and the French Commissary-General states that La Bourdonnais and his brother La Villebague harassed the town of St. Thome for loot. On September 17 the French 'began to play their mortars being 15 in number from behind the garden house, 10 and 5 from across the Bar: their strength on shore I compute 2,000 Europeans, Seapiahs, and 300 Coffrees: they have when all on board about 3,000 Europeans, 600 of which were Pondicherry troops: their intent was to have stormed us by escalade which we were in no condition to prevent, 1,000 Bombs having prevented our sleeping for 3 days and Nights. Yet we had more to dread from our own disorder within and want of Government and Council than

from the enemy without.' On September 29, William Monson, ensign, and John Hallyburton, ensign, were sent as deputies to treat with La Bourdonnais. He received them with all courtesy, and, after a consultation, he offered them the following conditions: that the town should be delivered up, and all the English remain prisoners of war; that the articles of capitulation being settled, those of the ransom should be regulated amicably; that the garrison should be conducted to Fort St. David, and the sailors sent to Cuddalore. The deputies pressed for a more explicit explanation as to the ransom being regulated in a friendly manner. La Bourdonnais replied, 'Gentlemen, I do not sell honour: the flag of my King shall fly over Madras, or I will die at the foot of the walls. In regard to the ransom of the town, and in everything that is interesting, you shall be satisfied with me'; (and, taking the hat of one of the deputies, he said) 'here is nearly the manner how we will regulate matters: this hat is worth six rupees, you shall give me three for it, and so of the rest.' The capitulation was signed the next day, and in the afternoon La Bourdonnais, at the head of a large body of troops, marched to the gates, where he received the keys from the governor. The French flag was immediately hoisted and the boats of the French squadron took possession of the Company's ships. The letter from Madras adds that 'The French hitherto have been extremely civil with respect to the Inhabitants, and have come to a Treaty with the Governour and Council for the ransom of the place at eleven Laack of Pagodas, payable in 3 years half in India and half in Europe; they to carry off all the Company's Goods and ½ the Cannon and Warlike Stores: but here's to be a Garrison of 400 french till January and I dont much trust to their faith.' The value of the Company's goods was about four laack of pagodas in silver, broadcloth, etc., and 'it is generally believed that Monsr. L Bourdonnie in Diaminds, Jewells, etca., Screwed Us a Purse of about 150,000 Pagodas, so Altogether makes up the Sum of 1,650,000, One million six hundred and fifty

thousand Pagodas,[1] for security of which hostages were to be delivered to Monsr. L Bourdonnie, the Governor's two Children, Mr Stratton and family, Mr Harris and wife, and Messrs Strake and Walsh. The first capitulation was according to the above terms, and the town was to be delivered the English on the 1st October.'

The terms did not suit Dupleix. He had agreed with La Bourdonnais that they should levy a large sum from Madras, either before the assault or in case the French were too weak to hold it. But a few days after the squadron set sail for Madras, Dupleix learnt that a squadron of three large vessels of the French Company had touched at Mahé. This reinforcement would enable him to hold both Madras and Pondicherry against any attacks made by the English, and he at once declared that the arrangement of restoring it on the payment of a ransom must be altered. He determined to keep the town or have it at his mercy. He, however, had to consider the native power.

On September 9, three days before the fleet sailed, Dupleix received a letter from the Nawab of the Carnatic which was to the following effect:

'"In spite of our explicit instructions that you should forbear from attacking Madras, you have despatched an expedition thither. We are therefore not disposed to allow Pondichery to continue in your possession. We accordingly propose to advance against your town. You transgress all bounds; this is improper."

'The letter was couched in these harsh terms. The Governor directed the despatch of a reply as below:—"The captains of the ships of war of France are bound by the orders of their King; and will not care to listen to the counsels of others."'[2]

On the following day a letter was despatched to Nawab Anwal-ud-dîn Khan enclosing a copy of another addressed to Nizâm-ul-

[1] Grose states: 'The Governor and Council settled the price of the ransom with the French Commodores at 1,100,000 pagodas, or 421,666£ sterling.

[2] Ranga Pillai's *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 291.

mulk. The purport of the communication was as follows—'the King of France has been informed that the English at Madras have unjustly seized French ships, and that they have taken another, bound for Manilla, which bore the name and flag of Muhammad Shah Emperor of Delhi, and was carrying a cargo consigned to him. The insult offered to the Emperor, by thus capturing a ship bearing his name and flag, has exceedingly enraged the King of France, his most faithful friend. He is therefore resolved that the city of Madras, which belongs to the English, shall be seized, and that the British flag which now flies there shall be torn down, and replaced by that of the French. He has accordingly despatched a few men-of-war to take Madras and to hoist the white flag over it. We are carrying out the royal mandate, and you should help us in whatever way you can.'[1]

On September 19, a camel-express brought a letter from Nawab-ud-din Khan to the governor. The Nawab expressed his surprise that, in defiance of his remonstrances, the French should have despatched an expedition against the English, and trusted that they would in future refrain from affording ground for similar complaint. 'When this letter was read to the Governor, he, with a grimace, ordered me to send a reply couched in the following courteous terms:—"No harm will be done to the merchants of Madras, and any offender found guilty of wrong doing will be punished by the Commander-in-Chief of the French fleet." A letter to this effect was despatched by the camel courier.' Dupleix fully realised the necessity of conciliating the Nawab. He wrote to La Bourdonnais—'I believe I have found the means of keeping him quiet by telling him we will give him up Madras, you understand, on the condition that we think suitable. This warning should induce you to press the attack briskly and not to listen to any propositions for ransoming the place after it is taken, as this would be deceiving the Nabob and causing him to unite with our enemies. After all, when you are master of this place, I do not see where the English can find the means to pay the ransom. I beg of you to reflect suitably on this subject.'

[1] Ranga Pillai's *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 292.

Dupleix was determined to build up solidly a French dominion in India, but in order to do that Madras, the rival of Pondicherry, must be destroyed. He would sack the town, dismantle the fortifications, and hand the place over to the Nawab. But La Bourdonnais clung obstinately to the first project of a ransom. On September 23, two days after the capitulation, he wrote to Dupleix a long letter in which he announced his intention of carrying off the goods taken, and making the English pay first a ransom for the town, and second for the pillage he had stopped. The first of these two contributions was to be for the Company, the second for the soldiers. He asked advice from the council as to whether he should seize the goods of the Armenians and Malabars. On the 24th he wrote again to Dupleix, asking him to send a scheme of how he thought Madras should be treated. All this time he was acting as if he were independent of any control. He was accompanied on the expedition by two commissioners, Messieurs d'Esprémesnil and Bonneau, who were charged with the duty of taking over the captured property. The former was appointed by Dupleix, the latter by La Bourdonnais. D'Esprémesnil was the head of the supreme council and second in authority only to Dupleix. On entering Madras La Bourdonnais received all the keys of the shops and the counting-houses, which he states he handed at once to the two commissioners. D'Esprémesnil wrote the same day at 9 P.M. to Dupleix: 'I have already spoken to the Admiral and to M. Bonneau many times that they should let us attend to our duties. I had no answer, and if I had not spoken strongly as I did, we should not now have the keys of the Treasury, which had been given to M. Villebague, I hope with no evil design. I have declared to M. de la Bourdonnais that I will sleep at the door of the Treasury, if he does not order the key to be delivered to me, and that if he refuses I will institute a procés-verbal. At last the keys are come.' Esprémesnil, hearing La Bourdonnais state that he would not give an account to anyone, told him that such a course of action would not redound to his credit. Seeing that La

Bourdonnais intended to act as if he were sole master in Madras, Esprémesnil asked Dupleix to come himself to Madras, the town being in his government.

Dupleix did not go to Madras. But in a letter, written on September 23, he informed La Bourdonnais that in whatever concerned Madras he must give an account to the supreme council. On the 24th Ranga Pillai enters in his diary—'At 4 this afternoon M. Dulaurens embarked for Madras to manage the financial affairs of that place.' He also states that M. Barthélemy was nominated to assist him in council. A letter was sent to La Bourdonnais announcing the departure of the two councillors, and stating they were to form with four other persons[1] an auxiliary council at Madras under the presidency of La Bourdonnais. On the 25th La Bourdonnais announced that he had appointed as commissioners his own brother, La Villebague, and a certain Desjardins to superintend the loading of the vessels. 'At the observation that this was an irregular proceeding he became very angry. However d'Esprémesnil learnt that they were loading by night the *Marie Gertrude*, whose captain, La Gatinais, was in the pay of M. La Bourdonnais, and that long-boats loaded to the water's edge were carrying the spoil from the town.'

On the 25th Dupleix, replying to the letter in which La Bourdonnais had asked the advice of the council, boldly put to him the question whether he recognised the superior authority of the supreme council and of the governor-general of the Indian settlements, which were founded on the permanent orders of the king passed before the special letter that La Bourdonnais received conferring on him the naval command. Dupleix added that the promise of a ransom was a decoy, and that the governor's bills would never be paid. La Bourdonnais promptly replied that he had never been forewarned of the supremacy of the council, that he had come to Madras as a man in full authority, and as a man

[1] MM. d'Esprémesnil, Bonneau, Desforges, and Paradis, all Pondicherry men.

possessed of full authority he must keep to the terms of his engagement. From this position he would not depart: 'Whether I am right or wrong,' he said, 'I believe myself to be acting within my powers in granting a capitulation to the Governor of this place. I have pledged my honour to the English deputies that I will treat favourably the ransom of the fort and the city.' On the 30th Ranga Pillai informs us all the Europeans at Pondicherry went to the governor's house and made the following representation to him:

'We live under the flag of the French King, and are bound to uphold his honour. The English have done us many wrongs and have even insulted us. You have now by the capture of Madras lowered the English pride, and have established for ever the fame of the King of France, and this will reach the ears of the Emperor of Delhi. The fall of Madras is due to your superior skill, and forethought; and it was not possible for anyone else to have achieved the success which you have. Now we hear that M. de la Bourdonnais is treating with the English for the return of Fort St. George to them. If he has restored it, we dare not show our faces in this Muhammadan kingdom. All our glory will have departed. What does he mean by making restitution of Fort St. George, which was captured only after a severe struggle, and the taking of which has greatly added to our reputation? We have come to you to protest against his proceedings.'

Dupleix told them that he would forthwith send a letter to La Bourdonnais forbidding him to proceed further. Ranga Pillai adds that, 'having written a despatch to M. de la Bourdonnais on the lines suggested by the deputation (Dupleix) directed M. Paradis, M. de Bury, M. Desmareis the greffier (record-clerk) and M. Bruyères to proceed by ship to Madras. They set sail at 4 in the evening.' On the 4th Ranga Pillai enters in his diary:

'This evening letters from MM. d'Espréménil, Dulaurens, and their party, arrived from Madras. These contained the following particulars. M. Paradis, M. de Bury, and those with them who quitted Pondichery on Friday, 18th Purattasi (30th September), arrived at Mylapore on Saturday, 19th idem (1st October). They had a talk with M. d'Espréménil, and his companions, who had betaken them-

selves there in displeasure at the conduct of M. de la Bourdonnais. On Sunday, 20th Purattasi (2nd October), they all proceeded to Madras, and asked M. de la Bourdonnais to explain why he had restored it to the English. He replied that he did so as he had been authorized in writing by the Council at Pondichery to exercise his discretion. M. d'Espréménil, Dulaurens, and other officials, explained that the order to which he referred gave him full discretionary powers in the conduct of the siege of Madras alone, and did not invest him with any authority to interfere thereafter, either in the administration of the fort, or in that of the town. M. de la Bourdonnais replied that he had restored the town to the English, because the capture of Madras was planned and effected by them all, without any authority from the King of France to wage war on land, and also because he had seized all the treasure that he found in the fort, and had settled with the English for the payment of eleven lakhs of pagodas, as a condition of restoring the fort to them. The Frenchmen, who came to remonstrate with him, now declared that the new order issued by the Council at Pondichery conferred the supreme authority on M. d'Espréménil, and cancelled the powers of M. de la Bourdonnais. They, thereupon, drew their swords, and called upon the ships' crews, the officers, the captains, and all others, to swear fealty to the King of France, and to take an oath of allegiance to M. d'Espréménil. The order of the Council at Pondichery was next read, and proclaimed. M. de la Bourdonnais was called upon to surrender his sword and to take the oath. They threatened that, if he did not, he would in accordance with the instructions which they said that they had received, be taken into custody. The captains and officers of the ships remained silent. M. d'Espréménil took charge of the keys of the fort, and issued his orders. Mr. Morse, the Governor of Madras, and the other Englishmen, were next summoned and were informed that they were prisoners, and that the restoration of the fort to them was cancelled.'

On October 7, Ranga Pillai states:

'I asked M. de la Touche to tell me why a Council sat yesterday, from sunrise until 6 in the evening, and again until noon to-day, and why the Governor appeared depressed. He replied to me as follows: "M. de la Bourdonnais, in celebration of his Saint's day, ordered guns to be fired at Madras, at sunrise, on the 21st and 22nd Purattasi (3rd and 4th October). He then invited M. d'Espréménil, M. Dulaurens, M. de Bury, M. Paradis, M. Barthelemy, M. de la

Tour, and other distinguished men, to dine with him in the fort at midday. When the guests were seated at table, M. de la Bourdonnais addressed them and said, 'I have received a report that English ships are approaching. You must permit me to embark all the soldiers from Pondichery on board my fleet.' 'No, no,' cried M. de Bury, M. Paradis, and their companions. M. de la Bourdonnais frowned on them, and ordered twenty-four of his men, who were under arms, to seize M. de Bury, M. Paradis, and M. de la Tour, and to keep them in custody. He deprived M. d'Espréménil of his authority, and assumed the sole power. He next ordered that the soldiers be embarked on board his ships, and directed that the merchandise in the fort and town should be conveyed on board."'

La Bourdonnais was most anxious to put an end to his quarrel with Dupleix and to set sail with his ships for France. He had in former years traded on the coast, and he knew well the danger of remaining in the Madras roadstead when the northern monsoon burst, which it does about October 15. He, however, did not wish to leave until his treaty had been ratified by the superior council at Pondicherry. He therefore opened negotiations with Dupleix and informed him of the conditions on which he would leave Madras. The principal ones were that Madras should be restored to the English, at the latest at the end of January, that it should not be attacked by either nation before that period, and that as long as it should remain in the hands of the French the roadstead should be accessible to the ships of both nations. On October 14 the superior council replied as follows:

'M. Dupleix has communicated to us your letter of the 12th with some articles which we have examined very attentively. Many reasons prevent us from being able to accede to them. The time to which you limit the evacuation of the place is not sufficient to enable us to make a division of the Artillery, rigging and the supplies and to take them away. All that we can promise you, is to work as promptly as possible. . . .

With respect to the hostages, letters of exchange and bills, we are very willing to engage to receive them on the understanding that this acceptance on our part does not pass for an acquiescence in the

articles which relate to them. . . . The roadstead of Madras cannot be open to the English during the division of the prize property; the English squadron has only to come there with five or six ships from Europe as well as from India and disembark their crews gradually. It would thus be very easy, as you will see, for the English to take possession of Madras, at least to concentrate there a force of 2,000 Europeans. It is for this reason that we have inserted a paragraph that the roadstead of Madras must not be open to the English.'

Ranga Pillai informs us that on the night of the 13th 'the north wind blew, accompanied by lightning and a little rain.' The following morning, as the wind was blowing and the rain was falling, he did not go to the house of the governor, 'who was suffering from two boils on the neck.'

'At 8, as the stormy weather continued, the Governor did not put on his ordinary dress, but clothing himself in his night costume—loose trousers, a shirt, a waist-coat and a cap—he entered the travelling coach of Madame Dupleix, went to the beach, watched the ships tossing on the waves, and listened to the roaring of the sea; and having ascertained from the fishermen—who said that the north-east wind had subsided, and the south-west was blowing, there was no ground for fear—that the gale and rain would soon cease and no danger to the shipping need be apprehended, he, so it is reported, went home.'

On October 13 the weather at Madras, Orme tells us, was remarkably fine and moderate all day.

'About midnight a furious storm arose and continued with the greatest violence until the noon of the next day. Six of the French ships were in the roadstead when the storm began, and not one of them was to be seen at day-break. One put before the wind and was driven so much to the southward that she was not able to gain the coast again: the 70 gun ship lost all her masts: three others of the squadron were likewise dismantled and had so much water in the hold, that the people on board expected every minute to perish, notwithstanding they had thrown overboard all the cannon of the lower tier; the other ship during the few moments of whirlwind which happened in the most furious part of the storm, was covered by the waves and foundered in an instant, and only six of the crew escaped alive. Twenty other vessels belonging to different nations were either driven on shore, or perished at sea.'

La Bourdonnais' fleet was destroyed. He was no longer able to face the English or to continue on the coast of Coromandel. On October 21 a treaty, which he asserted had been assented to at Pondicherry, was signed by him and Governor Morse and five of the English council. All the merchandise, part of the military stores of the East India Company, all the naval stores belonging to the Company or private persons became the property of the French Company. La Bourdonnais gave it up to the English and the other inhabitants all the effects and merchandise belonging to them except the naval stores. It was agreed that the French should evacuate the town before the end of the ensuing January, after which the English were to remain in possession of it without being attacked by them again during the war. Upon these conditions the governor and council of Madras agreed to pay the sum of 100,000 pagodas, or 440,000*l.* sterling. Of this sum 240,000*l.* were to be paid at Pondicherry, by six equal payments before the month of October in the year 1749: and for the remaining 200,000*l.* bills were drawn on the East India Company in London, payable a few months after they should be presented. The English gave hostages for the performance of this treaty.

On October 23, having made over the governorship of Madras to the senior member of council sent by Dupleix, La Bourdonnais sailed for the roads of Pondicherry. He anchored there the following day, but did not land. After an angry discussion with the Pondicherry council he acquiesced in their desire that the fleet, consisting of seven ships, should proceed to Acheen in Sumatra. For that port he accordingly set sail; the three ships which arrived last from Europe with another that had escaped from the storm made good their destination in spite of a contrary wind; but La Bourdonnais' seventy-gun ship and two others which had suffered in the storm were forced to give way and sail before the wind to the island of Mauritius, where they arrived in the beginning of December. Here he was placed in charge of a squadron and directed to proceed to France, taking Martinique on the

way. Owing to a storm which he encountered, he put in for shelter at St. Paul de Loando, the Portuguese colony. As I have stated, he had been some time in the Portuguese service in India, and it was reported at Madras that he meant to send gold, silver, diamonds and merchandise to Goa. At St. Paul he chartered a small vessel, which carried his wife, his children (and, it was stated, the riches that he had gotten), to Brazil and thence to Lisbon. He reached Martinique with only four of his ships. He now found that his homeward voyage was barred by English cruisers. He proceeded to St. Eustache, one of the islands forming the colony of Curaçoa, lying north from the coast of Venezuela, and took a passage to France in a Dutch ship. War, however, had now been declared between France and Holland, and the Dutch vessel was forced into an English harbour. La Bourdonnais was recognised and made a prisoner. Grose states: 'The ship was taken by an English privateer, and carried into Falmouth in December 1747. But the Commodore's lady, with most of the jewels, arrived in a Portuguese ship at Lisbon.'[1] He adds, 'The Commodore was confined some days in Pendennis Castle, from whence he was conducted to London in the custody of two messengers. He was treated with the utmost politeness and afterwards sent to France.' As you all know on reaching France he was imprisoned in the Bastille and remained there for three years in the most rigorous confinement. He was charged, in addition to his political offences, with corruption, embezzlement and extortion, but was at length acquitted by a Committee of the Privy Council to whom his case was referred.

The chief accusation brought against La Bourdonnais is that he received a large sum of money from the English to conclude an unauthorised treaty for the ransom of Madras. Professor Cultru in his most interesting and useful work on Dupleix remarks—'We have not the positive proof that

[1] *A Voyage to the East Indies, began in* 1750, *with Observations continued till* 1764, by John Henry Grose (second edition), vol. ii. p. xxi.

La Bourdonnais did receive money from the English but there are signs that point to this.' He adds—'Only a study of La Bourdonnais' case, and of the English documents, if there are any, can show if these suspicions of La Bourdonnais are founded on facts.' It is strange that a writer whose work is based on considerable research should not have learnt that in the archives of the India Office there are some important documents bearing on the case. He himself draws attention to the important fact that in 1750 a pamphlet in the form of a letter was published in England, which distinctly accused La Bourdonnais.[1] The pamphlet contained a letter from Governor Morse, written from Pondicherry, January 18, 1747, to The Secret Committee for Affairs of the United Company of Merchants of *England*, trading to the *East Indies*, in which he stated: 'I take this Occasion to advise you apart, that in that Transaction we were under a Necessity of applying a further Sum beside that stipulated by the Articles; which Affair, as it required Privacy, was by the Council referred to myself and Mr. Monson to negotiate: As therefore that Gentleman, who presents you this, is by that Means well qualified to give you the fullest view of that Matter, I believe we shall stand excused by you, that the Explanation of it with its Circumstances, its Consequences, and our Reasons, is thus referred to him, rather than committed to Paper.' No action was taken in the matter until December 15, 1748, when at a court of directors it was

'*Resolved*, that Mr. Monson be desired to give an Account in Writing to the Court of Directors, of the Matter referred to by Mr. Morse, in his letter to the Secret Committee, dated January 18, 1746–7, and also of the several Sums of Money taken up on Bond, or otherwise, after the Surrender of Madras to the French, and to explain the same, with the Circumstances relating thereto, together with the Reasons for the same, and that he be acquainted he may lay any Thing

[1] *A Letter to A Proprietor of the East India Company.* London: Printed for T. Osborne in Grays Inn, MDCCL.

else before the Court he thinks proper, and desired to give in such Account by Wednesday next.'

Mr. Monson in his reply to this resolution (London, December 21, 1748) states that 'he did hope' that the secret committee 'would have given me an Opportunity to have explained it before themselves only; for as there is a Sort of Faith, which ought to be preserved, even with one's Enemies, I cannot help saying, it is a Thing which chagrins me exceedingly, to be called upon now to do it, in a Manner so much more public. However, as your Commands have fixed an indispensable Obligation on me to comply therewith, I am to acquaint you, that in treating for the Ransom of the Place, we were soon given to understand, that a further Sum was necessary to be paid, beside that to be mentioned in the Public Treaty. You will easily imagine from the Nature of the Thing, that it required to be conducted with some Degree of Secrecy; there was, however, a Necessity of acquainting the Council with it, though for Form Sake, and to preserve Appearances with the Person treated with, it was referred to Mr. Morse and myself to settle the Matter with him: I can nevertheless with great Truth assure you, that all the Gentlemen of the Council were constantly and faithfully acquainted with every Step that was taken in that Matter, except Mr. Edward Fowke, who, from the Beginning of the Treaty about the Ransom, declared, that he would not join with us in any of those Measures, which by all the rest were thought absolutely necessary at that Juncture.'

Mr. Monson adds: 'Having said thus much, it remains for me to acquaint you, that we had no Possibility of raising the Money, but by giving the Company's Bonds for it; and this Negotiation was not kept secret from those who supplied the Money on this Occasion, as they were to a Man informed of the Use it was borrowed for before they lent it; and thought by lending it, they did a meritorious Piece of Service to the Company: Bonds were accordingly given for so much as we could borrow, under the Company's Seal, and signed by Mr. Morse, and all the Council except Mr. Edward Fowke;

a List whereof, I mean such only as were not mentioned in our general Advices,[1] I add here.[2]

'Having gone thus far, and acquainted you with the Engagements we were under, I submit it to your further Consideration, whether you will insist upon my mentioning in this publick Manner the Sum agreed for; what Part was paid in Consequence thereof; and to whom: For the rest of what was borrowed in this Manner, over and above what was actually paid to the Person treated with, it was disbursed in defraying the Charges of the Garrison, till the French broke the Capitulation, and turned us out of the Town.'

'The Minister of Foreign Affairs in France ordered, in his letter of June 20, 1750, that Messrs. Monson and Straton, Councillors of Madras, should come to Paris, to give their evidence in the affair of La Bourdonnais. All their expenses were to be paid.' This shows that the Foreign Minister attached importance to the publication.

The documents in the archives of the Indian Office are the three folios relating to the Law Case No. 31, March 3, 1752. The case arose from the objection of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to meet the bonds on which the sum required for the ransom of Madras was raised on the ground that in part at least the bonds had been given not to save the Company's property, but the private property of the governor and his council. Attention was first drawn to these papers by Colonel Malleson in his History of the French in India.

Sir George Birdwood, in his most interesting and useful

[1] Only a bill of exchange for 3,000 pagodas.

[2] 'To Mr. Morse . . . a Bond for Pagodas 10,000
Mr. Salomons . . . ditto 40,000
Mess. Jones and Moses . . ditto 15,000
Mr. Heyman . . . . ditto 10,000
Mess. Edw. and Jos. Fowke . ditto 5,400
Mr. Peter Baillieu . . . . ditto 5,000
The Church Stock . . . ditto 2,000
The Mayor's Court * . . ditto 2,000.'

* Mr. Monson made a mistake; the Mayor's Court lent 4,368 pagodas, and he omitted the bonds for smaller sums.

report on 'The Old Records of the India Office,' gives some copious extracts from these papers. In them we find the letter of Governor Morse, dated January 18, 1748; the letter of Mr. Monson, dated December 21, 1748. In the letter of Monson, as given in folio 3, we are told that 'bonds were given for so much as we could borrow under the Company's seal, and signed by Mr. Morse and all the rest of the Council except Mr. Fowke. Part of the money thus borrowed was actually *paid to the person treated with*, and the rest was disbursed in defraying charges of the garrison until the French broke the capitulations and turned us out of the town.' In folio 4 there is another letter from Monson, dated May 3, 1749, who, after excusing himself from declaring to whom . . . this money . . . was given, says:—'I hope I shall stand excused if I declare no further than that part of the money was appropriated to pay six months' salary and two months' diet to your covenant servants, with a month's arrear to the garrison, besides sundry disbursements to the officers and sailors of the *Princess Mary*, to your officers and military that were going to Cuddalore, and some little advances we judged necessary towards our future re-establishment, the rest of the money, with the diamonds, was actually and *bona fide* applied to the purpose already mentioned' (the payment of 'that person'), 'which, in the opinion of those who were concerned in this business, would have redounded very much to the honour, the credit, and the real advantage of the Company.'

In folio 5, 'Mr. Edward Fowke . . . speaking [letter of December 25, 1746] of the ransom . . . says: "In regard to ransoming of the town, afterwards when Monsieur La Bourdonnais told us we might march out with our swords and hats, I thought it' [going out with swords and hats] 'much more to your interest than to accept the terms that were agreed upon. . . . I could have consented so far as five or six lacs. . . . Madras is but a tributary town . . . therefore for your Honours to be loaded with such a monstrous sum, and the Native Government not to feel any

part of so severe a blow, would, I am afraid, in future have a very bad effect, especially with a little money laid out among the great men, which the French pretty well know how to place.'

Again, March 3, 1748: 'I can assure you, gentlemen, notwithstanding I may have appeared so lukewarm in defence of your town . . . I would rather have sacrificed my life than to have acceded to those terms of agreement, I thought them as directly opposite to your interest, honour, and credit, as others thought them for it.' In the same letter he says one of the bonds was brought to him to sign, and he wrote on it: 'I acknowledge Mr. George Jones to have brought me the above-mentioned bond to sign, but as I do not approve the ransom, nor do I know whether I am now legally authorised' (being a prisoner of La Bourdonnais) 'to take up money on the Company's account, I refuse to sign it.'

It is important, however, to remember that Mr. Fowke said, in his answer to the interrogatories, that though he was a stranger to the payment he did not doubt the money being paid.

We have also the evidence of the bond creditors, who in answer to the interrogatories stated: 'That they heard and believe that the then President and Council of Fort St. George did after the 10th September, 1746, agree to give and pay to Monsieur de la Bourdonnais 88,000 pagodas, but that they did not know or believe that the said 88,000 pagodas, or any part thereof, were so agreed to be paid in order to free or exempt the goods and effects of the merchants and inhabitants . . . and particularly the goods and effects of the said Governour in Council, or the said Solomon Solomons' [one of the bondholders] 'in their private capacity, from being seized, taken, or plundered, but that the same was agreed to be given or paid to the said Monsieur de la Bourdonnais, as a *douceur* or present on behalf of the said East India Company, with a view to reduce the amount or value of the ransom insisted on by the said Monsieur de la Bourdonnais.'

And the same further say (folio 11): 'They do believe

in their consciences that . . . the same and said present of 88,000 pagodas, as agreed to be given to the said Monsieur de la Bourdonnais, was entered into for the benefit and interest of the East India Company.'

Folio 12, 'Francis Salvadore, executor to Jacob Salvadore, says: "He don't know, but hath heard and believes that the said President and Council did, after the said 10th day of September 1746, agree to give or pay to or to the use of the said Monsieur de la Bourdonnais the sum or value of 88,000 pagodas, as a present, but whether . . . in order to exempt or free the goods and effects of the merchants or inhabitants . . . and particularly of the proper goods and effects of the said Governour and Council, in their private capacity, or the said Edward and Joseph Fowke, or the said Jacob Salvadore, . . . he don't know nor has been informed."'

In 1749 Monson was unwilling to declare the name of 'that person,' but in 1753 he declared, in answer to certain interrogatories, that 'he the said Mr. Monson heard from Monsieur de La Bourdonnais that they must pay him down 100,000 pagodas if they expected performance of the agreement, he communicated such his information to the Council, who after deliberation agreed to pay it, but says this money was not demanded for granting the fifteenth and sixteenth Articles.' He also states, 'No receipt was taken or required for the money privately paid, nor could any be insisted on in such a transaction, nor was any agreement made for returning the 88,000 pagodas in case the treaty was rejected by the Governour and Council of Pondicherry; and can't say whether the Governour and Council of Pondicherry were ever informed of this private transaction.'

Dupleix, who had little doubt of the guilt of La Bourdonnais, had his grave suspicions confirmed by an important witness. When I was in Pondicherry a learned French lawyer, who took most patriotic interest in the history of his countrymen in India, told me that there was in the archives some important evidence as to La Bourdonnais having taken a bribe. He also with the characteristic

generosity of his race gave me the following authenticated copy of the document. The translation was made by Mr. Markheim, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, whose death deprived that University of one of her brilliant sons.

'21 August 1747. This day, twenty-first of August 1747, at four o'clock in the afternoon, I was summoned by Mr. Dupleix to act as interpreter between him and Mr. Savage, formerly Councillor at Madras and now ready to leave on parole for Ceylon. Mr. Savage asked me to make his best thanks to the Governour for all the civilities which he had received from him, and on his own part to assure him of his everlasting gratitude. The Governour after making response to this compliment, requested him as a proof of friendship to tell him how much Mr. Morse and the Madras Council had given privately to Mr. de La Bourdonnais, and to declare to him there and then, in a friendly way, and in secrecy, how the business had been done. Mr. Savage, very much surprised by this unexpected request, appeared to hesitate in his answer. I consented, he said, to all that was done, and I signed. What will Mr. Dupleix think of me, if I myself reveal operations at which I should be the first to blush. Never mind, replied Mr. Dupleix, anybody would have done the same in your place; you did your best to extricate yourself, and to get out of the hands of the victor whose overtures you were obliged to accept, however inconsistent they might appear to you with straightforwardness and with your honourable sentiments which are known to me.

'This answer cleverly given reassured Mr. Savage. After several long-winded compliments, he required of Mr. Dupleix his word of honour that he would not mention the matter and made the same request of me. Mr. Dupleix insinuated that he did not ask him the question with intent to use his name, but simply and solely, in order to get a clue; that he knew already a great deal but in a confused way, and without being positively sure.

'Your Madras Council must have already written to you fully about it, said Mr. Savage, for our English gentlemen of the hill have revealed to them the whole mystery. Mr. Dupleix answered that nothing had been told them. Pardon me, replied Mr. Savage, I was present when some of our gentlemen took Mr. Morse to task for this matter. They blamed him for the way in which he had practised upon them, but [added] that he would not take advantage of it, since they had revenged themselves by the exposé they had made of all his secret manœuvres to the gentlemen of the Pondicherry

Council then at Madras. I am surprised, he continued that so public a matter and which has been in the mouths of so many malcontents, is not known to you in all its circumstances; you know the public treaty of the eleven lacs; the secret article was that we were to give privately to Mr. La Bourdonnais one lac down, to save the town from pillage and secure private property from aggression.

'Did he receive the whole lac, asked Mr. Dupleix.

'No, but to my knowledge he received in gold and silver as well as in diamonds eighty-five to ninety thousand pagodas, and if he had but waited a day longer, the whole sum would have been paid.

'From whom was the sum levied? From the English residents? Were the Malabars made to contribute? I have not been able to clear up this point, but they complain loudly. And as to the Armenians what was extracted from them before they were let loose from prison?

'I do not believe that till then anything had been got out of them, but if the town had remained in our possession, they would haxe been compelled to do as the others did.

'Who were those malcontents who cried out so much against Mr. Morse and his Council?

'They were Messrs. Fawkes Junior and many others, because after contributing to the payment of this lac with their most clear and portable property, they saw by the way matters were going that their goods were going to be confiscated, nothing less than that. Don't ask me more about it, he continued, you will see all these underhand dealings in the English public papers next year; there have been so many complaints that they cannot fail to be noised about in Europe. I wish that all that has passed at Madras could be forgotten, I can only think of it with abhorrence.

'I asked him how many boxes of piastres there were in the Treasury the day when the town was taken.

'I cannot recollect the exact number, he said. But, Sir, I answered him by the minute of the deliberations, which is in your handwriting, there were in the last days of August eighteen boxes. This record goes as far as the sixth or seventh of September. Your . . . and no mention is made in it that piastres had been taken out of the Treasury. I have noticed in all this record that as soon as they were drawn, and even before, you did not fail to make an entry of it.

'Yes, he said, there must have been eighteen boxes, and no doubt they were there.

'He was much surprised when I told him that there were only six.

'This is the gist of what passed in that conversation. On leaving

Mr. Dupleix asked me to put it down in writing, so that he might be the better able to remember it. Which I did as accurately as possible before seven o'clock in the evening, this twenty first of August 1747.

(Signed) FRIELL.

'I the undersigned certify on my soul and conscience that the contents of this document are true and were told me by Mr. Savage in English which I interpreted in French to the said Mr. Dupleix at Pondichery, at half past seven in the evening, this twenty first of this August 1747.

(Signed) FRIELL.

'I the undersigned Councillor in the Higher Council and commandant of Karikal, certify that the present document was presented to me by Mr. Dupleix commandant general of India at the very moment when it was completed by Mr. Friell, and that I read it after having previously given my word of honour to the said Mr. Dupleix to keep a profound silence on its contents, in consequence of the same pledge which had been required of those two gentlemen by Mr. Savage at Pondichery at half past seven in the evening, this twenty first of August 1747.

(Signed) PARADIS.

Pondichery, 10 April, 1876.

(Copy) The Conservator of the Library and of the Old Records.

(Signed) DE GACON.

Stamp of the Old Records of Pondichery.'

In conclusion I would venture to suggest that little doubt can exist from the evidence I have placed before you that La Bourdonnais received a large sum of money to ransom the town of Madras. But in condemning him for the act it is necessary to consider that La Bourdonnais was a corsair of the same stuff as Drake and Hawkins. He regarded the capture of Madras as a prize in a privateering cruise, and he considered he was entitled to a share of it, as Drake did when he captured the Spanish cities and held them to ransom. It must also be remembered that La Bourdonnais was instructed not to form any new settlements, and the only alternatives in his power with regard to Madras were to restore or destroy it. The capture of Madras was but a part of his general plan to destroy the prestige and power of all the English settlements.

By the capture of Madras he had dealt a severe blow to the reputation of the English, but the hurricane which destroyed his ships altered his prospects. He was no longer able to continue on the coast of Coromandel, and he had to settle with all expedition the affairs of Madras. He was obliged to leave the Indian Ocean for want of ships, but he left at Pondicherry 900 Europeans and 300 'Caffres': '1,200 disciplined men,' says Orme, who were of the utmost service to Dupleix in his future operations. Resolution, daring, and professional skill historians allow to La Bourdonnais, and he must have a place among the fighting heroes of France.[1]

[1] Orme writes: 'His knowledge in mechanics rendered him capable of building a ship from the keel: his skill in navigation of conducting him to any part of the globe: and his courage, of defending him against an equal force. In the conduct of an expedition he superintended all the details of the service, without being perplexed either with the variety or number of them. His plans were simple, his orders precise, and both the best adapted to the service in which he was engaged. His application was incessant; and difficulties served only to heighten his activities, which always gave the example of zeal to those he commanded.'—Orme, vol. i. p. 73.

THE PEACE OF PARIS, 1763.

ALEXANDER PRIZE ESSAY, 1907.

By MISS KATE HOTBLACK (OF GIRTON COLLEGE), B.A., DUBLIN.

Read June 18, 1908.

> All, with one consent, praise new-born gawds,
> Though they are made and moulded of things past;
> . . . . . .
> Then marvel not, thou great and complete man,
> That all the Greeks begin to worship Ajax.
>
> *Troilus and Cressida*, iii. 3.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Peace of Paris is a signpost in the vast realm of possibility pointing out the paths over which the great powers of to-day have travelled. It stands at the crossways. Here the ancient kingdoms of the East met the new world in the West. The fates of Indian princes and redskin chiefs were alike decided by the white man at Fontainebleau. Their civilisations and religions alike were doomed when their lands passed under the suzerainty of his Most Gracious Majesty George III. Those who met at the signpost in 1762, and those who travel back to it along paths half obscured by the growth of two centuries, agree that it is no ordinary landmark. Contemporaries differed in their estimation of the peace, but they all agreed as to its importance. It was the great political question which agitated the courts of London, Paris, Madrid, Berlin, Vienna and St. Petersburg from the beginning of 1761 till December 1762, when the preliminaries of the peace were approved in the House of Commons by the huge majority of 319 to 65. George III.

spoke of the peace as glorious. Charles Townsend praised it. Hans Stanley, one of the few good English diplomatists of the eighteenth century, defended it ably in the House. Pitt alone opposed it with any force. His speech, though familiar as a burst of oratory, has long been an enigma when treated as an historical document. Why did the great War Minister so absolutely condemn the peace which laid the foundations of the British Empire, the peace which is generally regarded as the result of his own successful policy?

It is often said that the terms Pitt demanded would have meant the ruin of France and were outrageous and impossible. Both Macaulay and Lecky, while agreeing that England might have asked for more, still maintain that the Peace of Paris was honourable and advantageous to us as a nation. There is doubtless much truth in this view, but yet it does not quite cover the case. It is not only the view generally accepted by modern historians, it is the view of a large class of contemporaries—Pitt's opponents. Fox said the clamour against the peace was aimed at Lord Bute, and not at his measures, Lord Granville declared that the terms were honourable, Lord Granby approved them. It is certain that Pitt aimed at the destruction of the Bourbon Alliance and the crippling of the French Navy and mercantile marine. But yet what does all this prove? The question at issue between Pitt and his opponents was not whether France should be humbled, but how much it was necessary to cripple her power in order to secure the safety of England's empire. There is reason to believe that the expedients employed in the Peace of Paris fell short of their aim.

It is the object of this essay to put forward this view, Pitt's view, to maintain that the peace was inadequate, both as a return for conquests and as a settlement of disputes. The suggestion is made to supplement rather than contradict the more generally accepted criticisms of the peace.[1] It is the other side of the question, an alternative solution

[1] *Cf.* A. von Ruville, *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.*

of the problem ; the symbols in both cases are the same but the values are different.

The view that the Peace of Paris was inadequate is based on three considerations. The real designs of Pitt, frustrated by his dismissal in October 1761, reveal an alternative Imperial policy ; what was, can be tested by what might have been A review of the intrinsic value of the terms gives a second line of argument ; and the history of the peace reveals the fact that in its final form it was due, not to any clear colonial policy on the part of the ministers chiefly responsible, but to the development of a position which placed extensive powers in the hands of the actual negotiator, a man of peculiar and pronounced views.

Part I.—The Foreign Policy of the Elder Pitt.

Clearness of aim is the great characteristic of Pitt's foreign policy. Its originality lay not so much in the main outlines of the design as in the harmonious grouping of its various parts. Pitt is often called a great War Minister, he himself claimed the Seven Years' War as his own special property. It was his war, his, not because he caused it, but because he prevented it from being a no man's struggle by giving it a unity of purpose and a definite aim.[1] Pitt's leading idea was to secure an empire of trade for Great Britain. Incidentally he would settle the disputes which had caused the war, but these were but the details of his scheme. He looked back past the ostensible causes of the war to the real source of friction. He looked forward beyond the cessation of hostilities to a peace which should be lasting as well as glorious.

The security of England's empire in America necessitated the settlement of her disputes with France and Spain : with France the old boundary strife soon became involved in

[1] Hardwicke's 'Minutes of the Council of October 2, 1761,' *Eng. Hist. Review*, xxi.

the vital struggle for supremacy. Three long-standing disputes led to the outbreak of war between England and France; the settlement of each of these formed a part of Pitt's great plan, which can be traced in the operations for war and the negotiations for peace which it dictated.

The first great question was that of the mainland, the struggle for Canada. It was clear to everyone in 1757 that this was a matter about which there could be no compromise. The war itself had broken out spontaneously; two nations were encamped against one another in North America. There was room for one only. The English colonists possessed the coast; the French held the command of the great interior. The expansion of either must be at the expense of her rival. It was not merely a matter of boundary disputes: it was a geographical puzzle, to which there were English and French solutions.

Pitt had two questions to consider with reference to the mainland. How could the position of the English settlers be made secure? How could England's trade be best fostered? The conquest of Canada, often regarded as the sum total of Pitt's policy, was but a minor part of his scheme. It was essential to the safety of the English colonists, but it was only one among other equally essential conditions when considered in connection with the maintenance of the supremacy of Great Britain in North America.

The borders of Canada were not the only scenes of a long and bloody struggle between the offshoots of two nations. The West Indian islands had struggles as desperate, quarrels as irreconcileable as those of the mainland.[1] Obvious as it may seem to-day, when considered in the light of later history, in the eighteenth century neither the strategic nor the commercial importance of the West Indies was generally reckoned at its true value. Pitt had to fight hard in the Council to secure the adoption of his plan for the capture of Martinique in 1757;[2] and most of the West Indian conquests were

[1] Bryan Edward's *History of the West Indies*.

Addit. MS. British Museum 32997, Newcastle Papers, cccxii.

recklessly surrendered in 1763. But Pitt's policy towards the West Indies never wavered. It was, indeed, the central point of his whole plan. By seizing Martinique, Guadaloupe, and St. Lucia he would accomplish many things. The position of the English colonists both on the islands and the mainland would be made secure, English commerce would be advanced, and a great blow would be struck at the commercial and naval strength of the enemy.[1]

The third cause of discord with the French was the vexed question of the Newfoundland fisheries. The treaties of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle had tried to settle the long-standing dispute by definition of rights. Pitt was determined to try a simpler plan—that of elimination. To him the conquest of Canada meant 'the cession of all Canada and its appurtenances, the islands of Cape Breton and of all other islands in the gulph and in the river of St. Lawrence, with the right of fishing, which is inseparably incident to the possession of the aforesaid coasts and of the canals and straights which lead to them.'[2]

England and France were the only two countries capable of forming rival empires in 1757, but they were not the only Powers interested in the New World. While Spain dominated the Gulf of Mexico she remained a Power to be courted ; while she maintained her navy she was still a Power to be feared.

In 1757 Pitt saw in Spain the ally he required for the furtherance of his great plan, the ally with whose aid France might be defeated, Minorca recovered, and some solid system established in Europe. Perhaps more than this, an ally who would further his great schemes in the New World, and look once more on England as 'the favoured nation' in commerce as well as diplomacy.

Nor was Pitt's project of an alliance with Spain merely a favourite dream ; it had some foundation in the workaday world of facts. The English colonists regarded the Spaniards as far more desirable neighbours than the French, and desired

[1] Hansard, xv., Pitt's Speech on the Preliminaries for peace.
[2] *Ibid.* British Memorial of July 29, 1761.

nothing so much as to be allowed to trade freely with them ;[1] and the Spanish colonists were quick to understand the advantages that would accrue to them could they trade on equal terms with the British, instead of through a Government which was the most grasping of monopolists.[2] Friendship with England was generally popular with the Spanish nation ;[3] and the English ministry, in hopes of peace, postponed the declaration of war against Spain in 1762 till it was impossible for even the most wilfully blind to fail to perceive the hostile intentions of the Court of Madrid.

But in 1757 three long-standing disputes prevented cordial relations between England and Spain. Spain claimed a right to fish in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which England denied. Another grievance put forward by Spain was the seizure of Spanish vessels by English privateers ; these vessels often carried contraband, and the Spanish *guarda costas* certainly treated English merchants who infringed the trading regulations of Spain with equal, if not greater, severity ; but there seems to have been fault on both sides.[4] The third grievance concerned the English settlements on the Honduras and the disputed English claim to cut logwood there.

The settlements were a menace to the Spanish overland trade, and if fortified might have proved very dangerous in time of war. Logwood was also a valuable Spanish export, and our right to the settlements and trade was extremely doubtful.

The Spanish grievances were real, and in estimating their importance it must be remembered that the eighteenth century was the age of trade wars : that trade was regarded as the sinews of war and the support of national greatness. All the great European Powers were struggling for the command of commerce. They looked upon colonial possessions as trading posts, rather than outlets for the over-

[1] *Correspondence of William Pitt with Colonial Governors*, ii. 279, 301, 381.
[2] *West India Common-Place Book*, by Sir William Young, published 1807.
[3] *Clarke Letters Concerning Spain*, 325 ; *Rockingham Mem.* i. 56, note.
[4] *Clarke Letters Concerning Spain.*

abundant enterprise and population of the mother country. Rights of fishery, wood-cutting, and navigation were very essential, and more prized by statesmen than extensive tracts of land. The Seven Years' War was a struggle for dominion rather than dominions.

Pitt has so often been regarded as a landgrabber, so often accused of nourishing designs of universal empire to be carried out ruthlessly at the expense of all rivals, that it is refreshing to find that his Spanish policy, the point at which he at first sight seems most vulnerable, protects him against such slanders. In 1757 he was willing to give Spain satisfaction in the affair of Honduras,[1] and his colonial correspondence proves how carefully he investigated the question of the capture of Spanish vessels, and how sharp were his reprimands to the governors of offending colonies.[2]

It was only when he had become convinced of the ill intentions of the Court of Spain, and certain that England was about to be attacked by the combined forces of France and Spain, that he was obliged to turn to the antithesis of alliance as a means of carrying out his Spanish policy. What Spain would not share must be wrested from her by force, her projected attack on England's naval strength[3] must be frustrated by a counter move. The designs of Spain were checkmated by the capture of Havannah, which had been planned by Pitt, though it was not effected till a year after his resignation.

Havannah was a strategic point of the utmost importance, commanding the Spanish trade routes to South America and the East Indies. To the Power that held Havannah endless possibilities were open. The conquest of Mexico would have been a comparatively easy feat; the isthmus would have been spanned for England; it would have ceased to be a

[1] *Chatham Corr.* i. 249; Addit. MS. British Museum 32997, Newcastle Corr. ccxii.

[2] *Correspondence of William Pitt with Colonial Governors*, edited by G. S. Kimball.

[3] Addit. MS. British Museum 32927, Newcastle Papers, ccxlii.

barrier, and become a pathway to her sons leading to her other great Empire in the East, where Manilla might have been the storehouse of English treasure. That Pitt meant permanently to retain Havannah there is no reason to believe. That he would not have surrendered it without some adequate compensation is certain.[1] Contemporaries were puzzled to think what Spain had wherewith to redeem a conquest of such magnitude. Pitt would have had no difficulty in naming it. He had one clear object before him; he looked not to isolated advantages, but viewed each acquisition as part of a whole, and the whole was tested by values of commerce. He had aimed at the source of Spanish power, her Eastern trade. And when his foe lay at his mercy, would he not have demanded a ransom? Not a 'Manilla ransom' of unpaid gold, but a commercial treaty sealed by the cession of strategic points along the great lines of trade.

Part II.—The Intrinsic Value of the Terms.

Pitt's interpretation of the terms proposed in the negotiations for the Peace of Paris rested on his policy of testing everything by the two measures of commerce and strategy.[2] The latter table he had mastered better than his contemporaries, but trade returns were pre-eminently eighteenth century units of value. Trade was national: trade was essential, the mainstay of governments and war in an age of despotism at home and expansion abroad. The Court of Spain was a gigantic trading company. Choiseul, the chief Minister of Louis XV., said, 'without trade and colonies no nation can, in the present state of the world, flourish at home or preserve any importance abroad.'[3] And, indeed, in countries where the nobility were exempt from taxation trade was necessarily the chief source of national revenue.

[1] Hansard, xv.; *Chatham Corr.* ii. 224.

[2] For the strategy of the war see J. S. Corbett's *Seven Years' War*.

[3] *Thackaray*, ii. 525.

As for England—where could have been her boasted freedom but for the prosperity of the city?

When the intrinsic value of the various terms proposed during the negotiations of 1761 and 1762 are judged from these standpoints, those of their own time, amid all the bluff and humbug, the real points at issue, the essentials, are unmistakable.

First and foremost comes the fishery question.

From a strategic point of view it was essential to England that she should secure the whole fisheries—that is, that the new treaty should contain no clauses similar to those of the treaties of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle, which secured to France certain immemorial rights of fishery within the Gulf of Newfoundland. The demand for the exclusive fishery, which at first sight appears an unnecessarily grasping and harsh term, was not without justification according to the loose idea of the law of nations prevalent at the time, and was altogether desirable, and indeed reasonable, when regarded as a measure of expediency. The Newfoundland fisheries might well be claimed as belonging to the Power which held all the coasts surrounding the gulf, and even if the gulf were not regarded as territorial water, the old five-league rule would partly cover the case. For, strategically considered, perhaps the most important argument against allowing the French any fishing rights was that such rights, to be of any avail, must allow fishing close to the shores, the cod which formed the great fishery harvest being caught on the banks or submerged plateaux near the coast where they came annually to spawn. A large part of the fishery was carried on in open boats, and it was absolutely necessary for the fishermen to have some island or settlement on the mainland as a shelter, the *abri*, which bulks so large in the negotiations. But could such a post be given with safety? Pitt thought not; even Bute feared the growth of another Louisburg which should be the loadstone to attract all our French colonists in Canada. What might not such an island be? A French outpost in

the enemy's country, a spy, a channel of information through which the first breath of discontent among our colonists might be carried to those who were eagerly expecting it? So Montcalm hoped,[1] so Pitt feared.

The commercial arguments were even stronger. From this point of view the fisheries were Canada, 'her only considerable source of wealth,'[2] the only thing for which the French had valued her when in their possession.[3] The fish caught in the gulf were dried and cured on the shores and exported, chiefly to Roman Catholic countries, Spain, Italy, and Portugal. Spain, having no considerable fisheries of her own, very largely imported British salted fish, and in this market France was much to be feared as a competitor. It was even feared that France, her fisheries secured, might settle one Spanish grievance by vending fish to her ally's ships within the gulf.

In an official report dated 1762, based on the returns of the Board of Trade and the information of those concerned in the fishery, the French fishery was declared on an average to be worth 467,761*l.* a year, and the English 388,000*l.*[4] Another valuation placed the French fishery at the round sum of 400,000*l.* per annum, and all the other sources of Canada's wealth, the fur and skin trade, shipbuilding, corn, tobacco, and lumber at 420,000 per annum.

Thus, apart from the fact that the Newfoundland fishery was the nursery of the French navy, from mere commercial considerations there was great reason for wishing to exclude the French from the fishery; for, putting aside the question of competition, the French fisheries at a crude numerical valuation accounted for about half the annual revenue of Canada. But the French hoped for still further commercial

[1] See Appendix D.

[2] This, at any rate, was the contemporary opinion, though modern economists are not always ready to accept a valuation biased by mercantilist theories. Addit. MS. British Museum 35913.

[3] McCulloch, *Miscellaneous Representations relative to our Concerns in America*, 1761.

[4] Addit. MS. British Museum 35913. See Appendix D.

gain under the new order, for in their cherished *abri* they saw a post through which their manufactures might be smuggled into the British colonies. Nor were the English, who a little later themselves played at the lawless game of free ports, blind to these possibilities.

Supremacy in the West Indies was the next essential. Pitt bitterly complained that by the cession of the islands and the fisheries in the Peace of Paris England had defeated that purpose which should have been achieved by the war. The strategic value of the West Indies is clear from the face of the map; they are the outposts of America and cluster thickest round her weakest point, that little strip of land dividing a great continent into north and south, linking the two great worlds of east and west. In the eighteenth century political conditions still further enhanced the value of a superlative natural position. The West Indies were the source of riches which made successful warfare possible, and they possessed invaluable harbours close to a hostile coast in the region of the hurricane; above all, they were the happy hunting-ground of the privateer.

Guadaloupe, the first important French island to fall into British hands during the Seven Years' War, was considered so rich a prize that it was debated whether it were not more valuable than Canada. But the glory of the capture of Guadaloupe paled before that of Martinique, the seat of the French Government in the West Indies, and the surrender of St. Lucia made the two former islands appear almost insignificant. But the West Indies were something more than the battleground of the colonial and commercial powers of England and France; they were the gates of the treasure-house of Spain. Pitt was indulging in no mere burst of oratory when he said, 'From the moment the Havannah was taken all the Spanish treasure and riches in America lay at our feet.' Cuba commanded the Gulf of Mexico; and Havannah, Mexico, and Manilla commanded the Spanish trade. The importance of Havannah and Mexico can hardly be over-estimated; the first commanded the routes of the

Spanish fleets to Central and South America, and the latter was the meeting-place of east and west, where the riches of eastern and western civilisation met and were exchanged.

The Spanish trade with South America was carried on by annual ships divided into three classes—the flota, the register ships, and the galleons.[1] The flota was a fleet of three men-of-war and fourteen or fifteen merchant ships, from four hundred to five thousand tons burthen. It started from Cadiz and sailed straight to La Vera Cruz, where it landed its European cargo, and in exchange took one of plate, precious stones, cochineal, indigo, cocoa, tobacco, sugar, and hides. From La Vera Cruz the flota sailed to Havannah, which was the rendezvous where they met the galleons. The galleons formed another fleet, which carried on all the trade with Terra Firma by Carthagena and Peru, by Panama and Portobello. They consisted of eight men-of-war, and were originally designed to supply Peru with military stores, but a contemporary writer says 'in reality were laden with every kind of merchandise on a private account, so as to be in too weak a condition either to defend themselves or to attack others.' Under their convoy they had twelve sail of merchant ships of about the same burthen. News of the arrival of the fleet was sent to Panama and the chief neighbouring towns. Then for a fortnight Portobello was the scene of a great fair, where gold, silver, and precious stones were bartered for the best of European manufactured goods. Fabulous tales were told of the great fair of Portobello. Spanish sailors declared that they had seen heaps of ingots and wedges of pure gold thrown about the wharves as things of little value. Very impressive was the sight of the rude riches of a wild country being exchanged for goods whose value lay in the skill which had been bestowed upon them.

The third class was that of the register ships; these were

[1] A graphic description of the Spanish trade is to be found in the letters of Edward Clarke, Chaplain to the British Ambassador at Madrid, 1760-1761.

of the nature of private ventures. Merchants received licences from the Council of the Indies to send ships of 300 tons to some specified port in the West Indies.

The galleons and register ships met the flota at Havannah. News was sent to Spain by some of the fastest sailing vessels that the treasure fleet was ready to return home, and a convoy was dispatched to protect them on their homeward journey.

This was the treasure fleet Pitt was so anxious to intercept in 1761.[1] The setting out of the convoy would enable him to reckon the position of the fleet, and the fleet itself would have been an easy prey, for galleons and convoy alike were too heavily laden with merchandise to offer any real resistance. Nor would the blow have been levelled at Spain alone or Spain chiefly. Spain had little to export but wine and fruit, and the rest of the outward bound cargo was composed of European manufactured wares, among which the linens and silks of France figured conspicuously.[2]

The Spanish galleons which sailed from Havannah carried some of the riches of both the Indies; for as Spain traded with the West Indies and South America, so South America traded with the Philippines and the far East. In July a great galleon set out from Manilla richly laden. In December she arrived at Acapulco, where another great fair was held which sometimes lasted thirty days. Many of the East Indian goods brought to Acapulco from the Philippines and China, were carried on trucks to Mexico; some passed on to La Vera Cruz and the islands, but most of the treasure was stored at Mexico till it could be exported to Old Spain. Mexico was a place of magnificent importance, the channel of all the trade carried on between America and Europe on the one hand, and the East Indies on the other.

By the capture of Havannah, St. Lucia, Martinique and Guadaloupe, England had the navies and commerce of France and Spain at her mercy. At the time of the negotiations for peace, Great Britain held not only what was essential for her own supremacy in the West Indies, but

[1] See Appendix C. [2] See Appendix B.

possessions on which France and Spain depended for their existence as first class powers.[1] By the carefully conditioned cession of their birthright England might have bought herself an heritage.

The demolition of the fortifications of Dunkirk was almost universally regarded as a term essential to Great Britain. The danger of a privateer station near at home was plain to many who were ignorant or careless of similar wasps' nests in the West Indies. In Africa Pitt's demand for Senegal and Goree was like the Canadian fisheries—a demand for trade or essence rather than substantial tracts of territory. The case was much the same in India. According to Pitt's plan the lucrative parts of all our conquests were to be retained, not as isolated possessions, but as links in the great chain of British commerce.[2]

The most tangible, but perhaps from an eighteenth century point of view, the least important essential, was Canada itself. The cession of Canada was obviously necessary as a settlement of the troubles with the French on the mainland, but it was also something of a foregone conclusion directly the English began to get the upper hand. Its conquest, apart from the fishery question, deprived France of very little. For England it was a Pandora's gift. It secured the safety of her colonies, but it cut the ties which bound them to the mother country.

Part III.—The History of the Peace.

The history of the making of the peace is typically eighteenth century: it is the story of courts rather than countries, of men rather than ministers, of 'measures not men.' It is a tale of incidents, not a mere summary of long forgotten arguments.

The first phase of the negotiations is associated with the name of Pitt. Till his resignation in October he dominated the peace negotiations as he had dominated the war. On

[1] Addit. MS. British Museum 33000, Newcastle Papers, cccxv.

[2] Hansard, xv., Speech on the Preliminaries for Peace.

March 26, 1761, Choiseul, the chief Minister of Louis XV., forwarded a memorial to Great Britain proposing a European Congress at Augsburg, to which a separate and immediate peace between France and Great Britain was to be the first step. France and England were, according to the memorial, to remain in possession of what they had conquered from one another, certain dates (September 1 in the East Indies, July 1 in the West Indies, and May 1 in Europe), being proposed as the basis for such a settlement. These dates were declared to be matters on which France was prepared to treat. Great Britain replied by a conciliatory memorial accepting the propositions of France as a basis for the negotiations, and requesting that an ambassador might be sent to England with power to treat as to the questions of dates and compensations. In answer to this, Pitt received a less satisfactory memorial from France, which contained a clause treating the dates proposed by the memorial of March 26 as final. The answer of Great Britain naturally raised objections on this point, and pressed for the exchange of ambassadors. After some delay on the part of France, this was accomplished. In May Hans Stanley was sent to Paris, and M. Bussy took up his residence in London. In answer to an invitation from France, England's next memorial proposed an alternative set of dates—July 1, September 1, and November 1.

But events were moving rapidly at London and Paris. With the exchange of ambassadors the real negotiations had begun. The formal memorials sink into insignificance. Stanley sent Pitt information of the greatest value. France was eager for peace, but before the surrender of Havannah, Martinique and St. Lucia, the fall of Pondicherry and the failure of her great German expedition, France was not at her last gasp. In the autumn of 1761 she was not prepared to give up all claim to the Newfoundland fisheries. Above all there was great fear that she was drifting into an alliance with Spain.[1]

[1] Addit. MS. British Museum 36807, Negotiations with Spain.

Choiseul was opposed to the Spanish alliance, he wished to see France stand alone, and could he have secured the fisheries, would readily have made a peace with England which should have freed France from her entanglements with both Spain and Austria.[1] But Choiseul's ministerial position was insecure. He had come into power through the favour of Madame de Pompadour, but he treated his benefactress with scant ceremony when she meddled with his political pies. The chief Minister of France slighted La Pompadour, but the ambassadors of France and Austria were at her feet; while Choiseul laboured for the peace at Paris, Grimaldi and Stahremberg followed the Court of Louis XV. on its round of pleasure.

Grimaldi was the enemy alike of England and Choiseul, and it would appear from the letters that passed between Grimaldi and Fuentés in the spring of 1761 that the family compact of August 15, or at least the separate article of the treaty to which it owed its offensive nature, was due mainly to Grimaldi's schemes.[2] He and Fuentés saw in the negotiations between France and England a chance of intermingling the affairs of Spain and settling their own grievances 'by force or fear.' Nor was Fuentés slow to grasp the fact that Pitt's power was on the wane. He wrote to Grimaldi of party divisions, and in a letter of March 20 to M. Wall he repeats these remarks, and adds: 'I am every day more and more convinced that this is the best opportunity for us to obtain justice, and reduce the nation to its due limits. If France continues the war, we shall be able to operate more at our ease; however, the blow will not be less certain, if the king is willing to strike it alone.'[3]

Choiseul was not unaware of the intentions of Spain. In the written instructions he gave to Bussy, when he set out

[1] De Flassan, vi. 381; Addit. MS. British Museum 36798, Stanley to Pitt, September 15, 1761; *ibid.* 32927, Sir Joseph Yorke to the Duke of Newcastle, August 18, 1761.

[2] *Chatham Corr.* ii. 92 *et seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 101.

on his mission to England in 1761, he warned him to beware of Fuentés, who, irritated by Pitt's evasions of his demands, was clamouring for war. Charles III., who was also anxious for war, had proposed an offensive and defensive alliance with France, which Louis XV., uncertain of the success of the negotiations with England, had reduced to a purely defensive alliance. If Pitt's terms were too hard, Bussy was directed to add fuel to the fire of Fuentés' resentment that Spanish threats might bring down the English terms; but Choiseul expressly warned him that his mission was very delicate—he was never to forget that his main object was to make a satisfactory peace, and was not to become entangled in the very undesirable Spanish connection unless he had lost all hope of fulfilling his mission by other methods.[1]

But in playing with the Spanish alliance, Choiseul was playing with fire; perhaps he had no choice. He lacked the full confidence of his Court; he had little control over his negotiator in London; he had an opponent of iron. As the negotiations proceeded, his ministerial position became more and more insecure; he was unwise enough to oppose Madame Pompadour in the Broglie Soubise affair; finally he gave way, but not before he had incurred the suspicion of making a bid for the Dauphin's favour.

On July 23 Bussy presented a memorial dealing with the Spanish grievances, in which his Catholic Majesty offered to guarantee the treaty for peace pending between England and France, together with a French memorial which was couched in anything but conciliatory terms, and a note from Bussy to Pitt proposing the desertion of Frederick II.

Pitt returned all the documents as 'wholly inadmissible.' He saw at once that someone had made a gigantic blunder. Spain had unmasked her guns before the ammunition had arrived; the threat of war had been given before the treasure fleet had reached Cadiz. The blame rests with Bussy. When Choiseul sent him the Spanish intervention, together with the French memorial, he specially instructed him to

[1] De Flassan, *Histoire de la Diplomatie Française*, vi. 392.

hold the Spanish document in reserve. On no account was he to present it until the French memorial had been answered. For this delay Choiseul gave two excellent motives. The Spanish memorial would give Pitt a reason for rejecting the French terms, which Choiseul told Bussy he thought he would do in any case, and gain him popularity. It would also alarm the English, and give them notice of the intention of Spain to declare war: 'Qu'il faut au contraire dissimuler d'autant plus qu'elle sera plus prochaine.'

Fuentés overruled Choiseul's wise advice, and insisted that the two memorials should be presented together. Bussy accordingly presented them on July 23. The question then occurs, Why did Bussy and Fuentés precipitate matters? A possible explanation is that they were desirous to bring about the impending alliance between France and Spain, and fearful that Choiseul would make peace. It is notable that the memorial which Bussy received on July 20 was presented on the 23rd. On the 20th the news of the fall of Pondicherry had reached England, on the 21st the capture of Dominique was made known, and on the 22nd news arrived that the great French expedition in Germany had failed.[1] Was there not reason to believe that Choiseul would consent to Pitt's terms?

Fuentés and Bussy had both been pressing Pitt as to the Spanish claims, and he declared afresh that he would never give up the fishery or allow Spain to meddle between England and France. If their respective Courts upheld the action of Fuentés and Bussy, the presentation of the memorial was almost equal to a declaration of war. Had Pitt's ministerial position been more secure, perhaps it would have been. But Pitt was no favourite with George III., and had many opponents in the Cabinet. To the old Whigs, men of assured position like Newcastle, Devonshire, and Hardwicke, it was intolerable to attend Councils only to be

[1] *Cf.* W. L. Grant's *Mission de M. de Bussy à Londres*, 1761.

made either to acquiesce or tremble ;[1] they never forgot that a peace signed in opposition to Pitt's well-known views would mean not only the cessation of hostilities abroad, but the suspension of martial law in the Council chamber.

Pitt therefore waited for further evidence of the hostile intentions of Spain. A very strange memorial from Spain dated August 28, Stanley's letters, and the intercepted correspondence of Fuentés and Grimaldi, put him at rest on this point. On September 18 he laid his views before the Council, and drew up a memorial advising the King to declare war against Spain. At a Council held on October 2 it was decided that there was not sufficient evidence of the ill intentions of the Court of Spain to warrant such a measure. On October 5 Pitt resigned.

The resignation of Pitt meant the reversal of a policy. England lost a War Minister, the King was freed from an imperious councillor, the Government benches missed a leader, and the Civil Service was deprived of one of its chiefs. It was almost as if a department of State had gone out of office.

Negotiations for peace had been broken off before Pitt's resignation. For a short time there was a dearth of politics. Most of Pitt's opponents seemed afraid to take any decided action now the responsibility rested with themselves. George III. was one of the undaunted few ; he directed Lord Egremont to despatch a sharp letter to Spain demanding whether there was anything offensive to Great Britain in her treaty lately signed at Paris.[2] Spain gave conciliatory answers till her treasure fleet had safely come to port, then her attitude became suddenly hostile, and on January 2, 1762, Great Britain declared war on Spain.

The capture of Martinique, St. Lucia, the Havannah, and Manilla made this phase of the war one of brilliant achievement.

[1] *Rockingham Mem.* i. 40; Addit. MS. British Museum 35870.

[2] *Rockingham Mem.* i. 55; Addit. MS. British Museum, 36807, Negotiations with Spain.

Negotiations for peace between England and France were opened soon after the capture of Martinique, through the mediation of the Sardinian ambassadors at the Courts of London and Paris, the Count de Viry and Le Bailli de Solar, who conferred respectively with Mr. Stewart Mackenzie, the Earl of Bute's brother, and the Duc de Choiseul. Choiseul had a very poor hand, but this time he played it with consummate skill. He had only one trump card, but it was a royal one, and he reserved it for the winning trick. England's position abroad was almost impregnable, but at home ministerial dissensions left her an easy prey to skilful diplomacy. George III. and Bute were ever haunted with the fear of the return of Pitt to power. If the negotiations lagged on till the next session of Parliament their programme would be attacked, and, divided as they were among themselves, how could the King's ministers hope to stand before the popularity of the great commoner. Choiseul soon grasped the position, and when France and Spain wished to make a point they invariably threatened delay.[1]

After Pitt's resignation his colleague, the old Duke of Newcastle, was driven from the Treasury. The chief power fell into the hands of Bute, who became First Lord of the Treasury, and Lord Egremont and George Grenville, Secretaries of State.

In September the Duke of Bedford was sent to Paris to negotiate the peace. Bedford stands out not only as the actual negotiator of the peace, but as Pitt's most worthy opponent, the only man who had a clear alternative design. Pitt advocated peace through war. Bedford proposed a policy of conciliation. He tried to meet the difficulties of a mercantilist age by an individualistic policy. He was something of a philosopher as well as a statesman, and declared that it was good policy as well as good conscience for men to do as they would be done by in public as well as private life. He thought we were in danger of over-colonising like Spain: he pointed out that it was 'against nature' to

[1] *Rockingham Mem.* i. 97.

deprive a Power with such an extensive seaboard as France of the possession of an adequate navy. He feared England was on the verge of embarking on a policy of aggression which would unite all the sea Powers of Europe against her.[1] Bedford was a man of fixed ideas 'immeasurably obstinate,' says Horace Walpole, 'when once he had formed an idea or had an opinion instilled into him.' His policy has been extolled by his biographer as being enlightened, and in advance of his day: it was for these very reasons that, from a mercantilist point of view in a mercantilist age, there might be serious objections to a peace which Bedford would deem a triumph alike of good faith and diplomacy.

Egremont and Grenville, knowing the Duke's peaceful inclinations, begged that he might be given written instructions as to the terms he was to propose, and no power to depart from them. But George III. proved obdurate on this point: he had the greatest confidence in the Duke, who in the end was left with large discretionary powers.[2]

Bedford found unexpected difficulties in his mission, owing to the hostility of Grimaldi, who declared that the expedition against Havannah would prove an expensive *fiasco*; and at home George III. soon found that the opposition to Bedford's peace would not come from Spain alone. Lord Egremont had offended deeply by flying into a passion in the closet over the question of Bedford's instructions. Grenville committed a still more serious breach of political etiquette in the eyes of Court politicians when he threatened to summon to the Cabinet Council, which was to consider the question of the compensation for Havannah, not only the members of the inner Cabinet, who were naturally of the peace party, but every man of Cabinet rank, 'everybody who could be got to the Cabinet Council, *nommément*, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Hardwicke, and the Duke of Devonshire,'[3] Whigs of

[1] Addit. MS. British Museum 34713, f. 110, Minutes of the Council of July 26, 1762; *cf. The Seven Years' War*, J. S. Corbett, ii. 172.

[2] *Bedford Corr.* iii. 132.

[3] *Rockingham Mem.* i. 129.

the old school, to whom the peace policy of Bedford was as abhorrent as Pitt's Imperial design.[1]

George Grenville was asked to resign the seals, Henry Fox, Lord Holland, was persuaded to undertake the management of the Commons, and the negotiations were hurried on. Bedford's policy reigned supreme. The capture of Havannah had silenced all Spanish objections; and at home he was supported by all the strength of the Court party, under the leadership of Fox, one of the ablest and most unscrupulous politicians of his day. While Bedford pursued his policy at Paris, Fox prepared for its reception in the House. His plan was to secure as many members as possible beforehand, and to worry Pitt with a brood of 'chicken orators' specially hatched out for the purpose. Nor did the King's friends relax the vigilance with which they pushed the peace after the session had begun.[2]

On December 1 Mr. Calvert moved to defer the consideration of the preliminaries for peace, and was beaten by 213 to 74. 'Before another question comes,' writes Shelburne, 'let the 213 taste some of the plunder of the 74. Without you do something of the kind, you'll find your cause want a necessary animation and your friends want encouragement.'

This letter throws a sidelight upon the fact that the preliminaries for peace were approved in the House of Commons by the huge majority of 319 to 65. Undoubtedly there was much undue influence. Bute had secured the elections for the Court at the beginning of the new reign, and an election affair helped to finally drive the old Duke of Newcastle from office.[3] But even a large and well trained Court party will not explain a majority of 254. In the eighteenth century Government was an affair of factions rather than parties, and in every Parliament there was a fair sprinkling of private

[1] Addit MS. British Museum 33000, Newcastle Papers cccvi.

[2] Addit. MS. British Museum 36796, Register of the Correspondence of the Earl of Bute. Fox to Bute, November 16, 19, 20, 23, 24, 27, 30, 1762.

[3] *Rockingham Mem.*, i. 109; *Grenville Papers*, i. 443-445.

members, men whose means were as independent as their views. Doubtless many of those who voted for the peace considered it 'honourable and advantageous to us as a nation.'

On October 26 George III. wrote to the Duke of Bedford that he trusted him to send him news of a speedy peace, for if it were to be made at all, it must be now. On November 3 Bedford sent him the welcome news that that day at Fontainebleau he had signed the preliminaries of the peace, which was ratified the next year as the Peace of Paris.

By this treaty France gave up all claim to Nova Scotia Canada, Cape Breton, and the islands in the Gulf of St Lawrence, Great Britain engaging to permit the free exercise of the Catholic religion to the Canadians. These cessions were to include the right of navigating the Mississippi, so important in connection with the Indian trade.

By the fifth article the French were allowed to fish in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, within three leagues of the coast, with the right of curing their fish on certain parts of Newfoundland.

The islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were ceded to serve as a shelter for the French fishermen; no fortifications were to be erected, but a guard of fifty men was allowed for police purposes, and the only guaranty given for the fulfilment of the terms was the word of his Most Christian Majesty, who was thus left to define the difference between buildings erected for fortification and shelter.[1]

Great Britain restored Guadaloupe, Mariegalante, Martinique and Bellisle, to France. France ceded Grenada and the Grenadines to England; the neutral islands were divided, St. Vincent, Dominca and Tobago remaining with England, and St. Lucia being restored to France.

In Africa, England restored Goree, and France gave up Senegal. In India, France abandoned her pretensions to

[1] Compare the conditions drawn up by Bedford for the cession of St. Pierre and Miquelon (Hansard, xv. 1298) with those proposed by Pitt to guard the cession of St. Pierre only (*ibid.* 1064).

conquests made since 1749, and received back the factories which she had at that date.

France restored Minorca, and promised that Dunkirk should be put in the condition prescribed by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

In Germany, France promised to evacuate her conquests, but nothing was stipulated as to their restoration.

Spain ceded Florida, and received back Havannah and Manilla. England engaged to demolish her forts on the Honduras, but stipulated that her subjects should retain their right to cut wood. By a secret article France ceded Louisiana to Spain, but did not inform England of the gift till October 1763.[1]

Most of these terms had been virtually settled through the Sardinian ambassadors, but on two important points Bedford stands partly responsible. The Havannah was captured during his mission, and the only compensation he obtained for it was that of Florida. But in the question of the fisheries his responsibility is more direct. He exceeded his instructions on one point only, but that was the all-important one, of the distance from the shore within which the French might fish in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. This he reduced from fifteen to three leagues, remarking with characteristic frankness in a dispatch in which he confesses the cession, that if he had not altered this article the French would have been deprived of most of the advantages of the fishery.[2]

The Peace of Paris is a clear exposition of Bedford's principles. France was not 'driven out of any naval power'; we had treated Spain as we would wish, but hardly expect, to be treated by a victorious foe. Nor can Bedford be accused of neglecting what he considered his duty towards his country. The parts of the treaty which relate to India are specially creditable to him; by his firmness and courage, even after the preliminaries had been signed, he obtained an alteration

[1] Addit. MS. British Museum 34713.
[2] *Bedford Corr.* iii. 147.

of a carelessly worded term by which France would have greatly benefited.

And yet the treaty was a failure, because it denied the facts of the case. As a return for conquests made it was distinctly inadequate. After unparalleled successes we had gained little of any value except Minorca, which was the only English possession France had to barter, and which in the negotiations of 1761 had been placed by Pitt as the equivalent of Belleisle; and Canada a conquest which had seemed just and feasible to the Duke of Bedford in 1747.[1]

On the other hand we had returned to France her islands, including St. Lucia, to which we had some kind of claim;[2] and her fisheries, for which we might have made out a very plausible case. For the Havannah, Spain was only asked to surrender Florida, a barren tract of land of little value.

But it was as a settlement of disputes that the inadequacy of the Peace of Paris was most disastrous. The peace was insecure, because essentials had been surrendered. France was neither reduced, nor, as events proved, conciliated. 'The union of the House of Bourbon' was, as Mr. Legge declared in the debate on the preliminaries, 'not even attempted by this treaty.' The Spanish question was unsolved, and by the desertion of Prussia England lost her only ally, and was left to meet the next great struggle in North America in isolation.

Pitt declared that: 'Upon the whole, the terms of the proposed treaty met with his most hearty disapprobation. He saw in them the seeds of a future war. The peace was insecure, because it restored the enemy to her former greatness. The peace was inadequate, because the places gained were no equivalent for the places surrendered.' The truth of his words was proved when twenty years later a peace was signed which was the sequel as well as the namesake of the peace of 1763.

[1] *Bedford Corr.* i. 182.

[2] Addit. MS. British Museum 33000, Newcastle Papers, cccvi.; *Bedford Corr.* i. 243.

APPENDIX A.—THE BOURBON ALLIANCE.

From 1757 to 1761 Pitt carefully watched for any indications of the existence of a Bourbon alliance.[1] In 1757 his hopes outweighed his fears. In 1759, with the accession of Charles III. to the throne of Spain, his fears returned with full force; nor were they unfounded. In December 1759 M. D'Abreu, the Spanish Ambassador, presented a memorial which declared that 'his Catholic Majesty could not see with indifference the English successes in America.' Pitt saw at once that French influence was at work; he noted that the memorial had been written at Saragossa, where the King was resting on his way from Naples to Madrid, 'before his Catholic Majesty had reached his capital, or as much as seen the Ministers of Spain, as well as before an ambassador had been appointed for the Court of England.'[2]

On December 19 Lord Bristol, the British Ambassador at the Court of Madrid, wrote to Pitt that he had had a conversation with General Wall, the chief Minister of Charles III., in which Wall had said his Catholic Majesty was desirous of acting as an intermediary between England and France in order to establish peace between those countries. The offer was indignantly refused, and when D'Abreu repeated it in the course of an audience with George II. on January 4, 1760, his Majesty repulsed him coldly. After this audience George II. openly showed his dislike of D'Abreu, who had been for some time suspected of sending information to France concerning the English preparations.[3]

In June 1760 D'Abreu was recalled to Spain, and his place taken by the Comte de Fuentés. The change of ambassadors was not followed by a change of policy. On June 20 Fuentés presented a long memorial dealing with the Spanish prizes taken by the English during the war with France; the memorial contained a very haughty demand for reparation. A carefully worded answer, drawn up by Lord Mansfield, was returned to Spain on September 1, in which the justice of the English proceedings was ably defended.

On September 9 Fuentés presented two other memorials, one dealing with the fishery question and the other with that of Honduras. In the memorial relating to the Newfoundland fishery

[1] *Cf. Life of Pitt*, by W. D. Greene, M.P., Appendix, p. 385.

[2] Addit. MS. British Museum 36807.

[3] Addit. MS. British Museum 32998, f. 71, Newcastle Papers, ccxiii.; *ibid.* 36807.

it was stated that a similar copy had been communicated to the Court of France. The most pacifically minded English Ministers were disgusted at this appeal to France, in what purported to be a friendly negotiation.

Soon came news of Spanish naval preparations, and, while Spain tried to keep the English busy with complaints about the capture of Spanish vessels, Pitt's careful investigations proved that in many cases the ships were carrying French cargoes to French ports.

Negotiations for peace with France had been opened in March. Hans Stanley, the English negotiator at the Court of Paris, was specially instructed by Pitt to watch the Spanish Ambassador, Grimaldi. Stanley fulfilled his mission with great success, and sent Pitt certain information that the Court of Spain was endeavouring to negotiate a defensive and offensive alliance with France, and that Grimaldi had gained the ear of Madame Pompadour.[1]

Intercepted letters between Fuentés and Grimaldi confirmed Stanley's reports. Then came the startling episode of the presentation of the Spanish Intervention on July 23. Pitt gave only a *réponse verbale* as a formal answer to this memorial, but he wrote to Bristol at the same time, suggesting that Grimaldi and Fuentés, who were known to be attached to the French interest, might have acted in a manner not quite in accordance with the wishes of his Catholic Majesty. This surmise Bristol was always to keep in view, and if he saw '*a disposition* in M. Wall *to explain away and disavow the authorization of Spain to this offensive transaction of France*, and to come to *categorical and satisfactory Declarations relative to the final* Intentions of Spain, he was to *open to the Court of Madrid* as *handsome a Retreat* as may be.'[2]

In answer to this firm but conciliatory dispatch Pitt received a letter from Bristol dated Segovia, August 31, 1761, relating a conversation between himself and Wall on the subject of the lost memorials. At this interview Wall had declared 'that the memorial relating to Spain, delivered in by M. de Bussy, was *verbatim* what had been sent by order of the Catholick King to Versailles.' With this letter Bristol sent a paper delivered to him by General Wall at St. Ildephonso, dated August 28. This paper, declaring the presentation of the memorial by M. Bussy, was a step which his Catholic Majesty would not deny had been taken with 'his full Consent and Approbation and Pleasure.' The memorial made many assurances of goodwill, but it contained two significant passages :—

[1] Addit. MS. British Museum 36798.

[2] *Ibid.* 36807 ; *ibid.* 34713.

The King of Spain declared on his own behalf and that of the King of France that 'They will never give up to England a Right, which without Example, It pretends to assume, of hindering the One from interfering in the affairs of the other, for their mutual Assistance, as their Union, Friendship and Relationship require.'

This declaration of union of interests between France and Spain was exactly what Pitt had long feared and suspected. Wall's criticism of the English answer to the Spanish claims of fishing rights off Newfoundland was also calculated to dispel any illusions as to the possibility of continued friendship between the Courts of London and Madrid :—

'Concerning the Liberty of the Biscayners, and Guipuscoans to fish for Baccalao, an absolute Negative is given to that Right, *tho it is well proved* and, with Respect to evacuating the Establishments, It is only *offered upon Terms inadmissible* with the *Catholick King's Decorum:* that before doing It, He should assure to the English the Logwood. Hard proceeding certainly, For one to confess, that He is gone into the House of Another, to take away his Jewels, and to say, "I will go out again but first you shall engage *to give me what I went to take*," and still harder when set in opposition with the Baccalao ; which *the Spaniards want for their food as the English want logwood for their Fabricks yet the English would by force take away the Logwood, and hinder by Force the Spaniards from taking away the Baccalao.* One would think, that *the English themselves might with reluctance produce such a Pretension.*' [1]

It was this memorial and the letter from Bristol which accompanied it which finally forced Pitt to the conclusion that war was imminent.[2]

The Spanish dispatches were received on September 11. On September 18, at a meeting of the Council at St. James's, Pitt made what even his opponents conceded was an able speech. He advised a declaration of war against Spain, and clearly stated his reasons. 'Several previous steps,' he declared, 'showed a fixed object and system in Spain for an Union with France. The memorial from Saragossa, the Comte de Fuentés' memorial, which he avowed had been communicated to the Court of France, the memorial delivered by M. de Bussy here which was returned, the intercepted letters between the Comte de Fuentés and M. Grimaldi, the Convention signed in August last between France and Spain, the Duke of Choiseul's avowal of the Convention having been begun before the first opening was sent by the Court of France for a negotiation of

[1] Addit. MS. British Museum 36807. [2] *Ibid.*

peace.' Procrastination and delay, Pitt urged, would be the most dangerous of all expedients, though he did not deny that there was danger everywhere. 'They had now a total and entire avowal of the offensive step taken by France and of an entire union of Councils between France and Spain.'[1]

Seeing that he was to be overruled in the Council, Pitt took the final step of appealing to the King. After leaving the Council he drew up a paper, in which he stated that the memorial delivered by Wall to Bristol on September 28 (avowing the Spanish Intervention and declaring a total Union of Council and Interests between the two monarchies of the House of Bourbon) raised questions of such importance 'that he humbly submitted his opinion to his Majesty's wisdom that orders be forthwith sent to the Earl of Bristol to deliver a Declaration signed by his Excellency to the above effect and to return immediately to England, without taking leave.'[2]

At a meeting of the Council on October 2 Pitt made a farewell speech to his colleagues. He reminded them that the war throughout had been his war, that many of his measures, which had finally led to the greatest success, had been blamed at the outset. He reiterated his opinion that Wall's paper and Lord Bristol's letter demanded prompt action to vindicate the honour of the Crown of England. 'Spain,' he declared, 'is now carrying on the worst species of war she can for France. Covers her trade, lends her money and abets her in negotiation. This puts you actually in war with the whole House of Bourbon.'[3]

The exact date of the formal signature of the Family Compact of August 15 may not have been known to Pitt when he made his speech at the last Council; but he knew more of its real origin and objects than a formal perusal of the document would have taught him. By October he was certain that France and Spain were only waiting for the arrival of the Spanish treasure fleet. War with Spain was inevitable; if the fleet could be intercepted it would be paid for in advance and with French and Spanish treasure, not with British blood.

APPENDIX B.—SOUTH AMERICAN TRADE.

Addit. MS. British Museum 36807, f. 246.

'A Representation designed to show in what manner and proportions the sum brought from all the Spanish Colonies in

[1] Addit. MS. 35870, Hardwicke Papers. [2] Addit. MS. 35870, f. 306.

[3] See articles by Mr. Temperley and Mr. Hunt on the resignation to Pitt, *English Historical Review*, xxi.

South America divides itself among the several States of Europe in consequence of their respective trades.

'The sum total brought to Europe amounts to 3,320,000*l.*

England receives	£	*France receives.*	£
For Woolens and Hardware.	850,000	For Linnens . . .	550,000
For Produce from Ireland .	100,000	For Woolens of all kinds .	170,000
For 100 Cargoes of Fish at £1,400	140,000	For lace, &c. of Paris . .	50,000
		For silks, stuffs, and brocades	450,000
		For fish	30,000
	£1,090,000		£1,250,000

	£
Germany, Holland, Italy, and Swiss receive . .	850,000
The Baltic	130,000

'This estimate is founded on the best evidence that the nature of the case admits, which is the testimony not of British merchants only trading to Spain from Great Britain, but of those who have resided at Cadiz and been actually engaged in all the branches of trade which Spain carries on with all the ports of the world.'

APPENDIX C.—THE GALLEONS.

When Pitt urged that war should be immediately declared against Spain because she was less prepared than England he did not speak without evidence. He knew Spain was expecting home her treasure fleet and could even calculate its whereabouts, for on September 8 Stanley wrote: 'I this day heard from a good authority, that 15 Spanish ships of war are to sail speedily in order to convey home the fleets which they expect.'[1]

On October 16 Pitt received a letter from Bristol which confirmed his fears: the flota had arrived at Cadiz. It brought only 330,000*l.* on the Catholic King's account; this was declared to be the Royal revenue from the West Indies for two years. General Wall urged that the smallness of the amount was due to the mismanagement of the Spanish trade, and that the King of Great Britain must see how busy the King of Spain was with his own affairs, and how little cause he had to interfere in the war. Those who had scoffed at the idea of intercepting the galleons were relieved at the smallness of the Spanish riches till a letter arrived from Bristol, dated November 2

[1] Addit. MS. British Museum 32928, Newcastle Papers ccxliii.

stating that Wall had completely changed his attitude, and now used the most haughty language, which Bristol feared was due to the fact that 'two ships had lately arrived at Cadiz with very extraordinary rich cargoes from the West Indies, so that all the wealth that was expected from Spanish America is now safe in old Spain.'[1]

The first ships with their small cargoes had merely been a blind, or a venture, for before Pitt's resignation Spain had greatly feared for the safety of the fleet which carried the sinews of the approaching war.

APPENDIX D.—THE FISHERIES.

Among the papers of the first Lord Hardwicke preserved at the British Museum there is a volume containing valuable information on the subject of the Newfoundland fisheries.[2]

The book is evidently a collection of State papers which Hardwicke, after the diligent fashion of his day, had 'commonplaced' from the documents which came to him in the course of circulation.

The very existence of such a collection suggests the importance Hardwicke attached to this subject, an inference borne out by the tenor of the papers themselves. 'A memorial shewing that the French possessions on the River of Canada do originally and of right belong to the Crown of Great Britain and, for other important reasons ought to be restored to the Crown on a treaty of peace,' declares that 'on the coast of these provinces the Grand Cod Fishery of the Universe is carried on and that if (after a peace) these valuable provinces remain quietly in the hands of the English, they will be masters of the finest trade in the world, having other nations dependent on them, at the same time the finest nursery for seamen and the greatest consumption of the woollen and other British manufactures, by reason of the coldness of the climate and the multitude of the vessels to be employed in the business.'

Perhaps the most interesting of all the papers in the book is one docketed 'Questions and Answers relative to the State of the French and British Fisheries at Newfoundland 1762.' The questions show the points which were considered important in ministerial circles and the answers (compiled from 'returns made to the Board of Trade at different times, and the different channels, checked and corrected by the information of such as have been engaged in this branch of

[1] Addit. MS. British Museum 36807.

[2] Addit. MS. British Museum 35913, Hardwicke Papers, dlxv, 'Papers relating to Canada and Newfoundland.'

commerce') give statistics showing the average yearly value of the French and British fisheries, and the number of men, ships, and boats employed in each.

French Fishery.

—	Ships.	Schooners.	Boats.	Men.	Value.
					£
In the Mud Fishery . .	180	—	—	3,600	91,800
In the Newfoundland Fishery	120	—	1,440	6,000	222,601
In the Cape Breton Fishery .	70	60	800	5,200	153,360
	370	60	2,240	14,800	467,761

English Fishery.

—	Ships.	Schooners.	Boats.	Men.	Value
					£
Newfoundland . . .	180	—	1,515	3,000	208,000
New England . . .	100	400	—	4,800	180,000
	280	400	1,515	7,800	388,000

'An account of his Majesty's Government of Quebec and the Dependencies thereof' from Sir James Murray, Governor of Quebec, confirms the Board of Trade's Report. In a sketch of the resources of Canada Murray heads the list with a detailed account of 'A most immense and extensive Cod Fishery' which he declares 'may in time prove an inexhaustible source of wealth and power to Great Britain.'

Hardwicke's papers give the English view of the fishery question. The French version is to be found among the Earl of Dartmouth's American papers, published by the Historical Manuscript Commission, Report XIX., Appendix Part X.

A letter from Montcalm to Berryer, Minister of Finance, dated April 4, 1757, which was intercepted by the English Government, ends with this acute summary of the fishery question:—

'If Canada was to be ceded it would not be an irreparable loss, as I suppose the Court would not give up the Fishery, the Source of Riches, therefore it would be necessary to have Louisburg or some neighbouring Isle for that purpose, and to bring our merchandize too for the English; and this little port or post would be as favourable to us as Canada would be unfavourable to the English.'

DISCUSSION.

M. Richard Waddington (*Sénateur de France*) said that he was much struck with the cordial recognition and even the solid endowment of serious historical studies by English women. The paper which he had just had the pleasure of hearing was an instance in point, and he congratulated both the author and the Society on this contribution to historical research. At the same time he would venture to remark that the author of this paper, in common with other English writers, had perhaps scarcely sufficiently appreciated the patriotic policy of Choiseul, or the difficulties with which he had to contend. In a recent volume of the speaker's history of the *Guerre de Sept Ans* these matters had been discussed at some length from the light of special researches in the Vienna and other archives.

Mr. Basil Williams was willing to admit that the question raised by Mr. Julian Corbett, as to whether Chatham was justified, morally as well as strategically, in forcing a renewal of the war, was an important one; for extreme demands in the course of peace negotiations may well arouse such general hostility as to endanger an advantageous situation. He was also of opinion that the author of this paper was right in insisting on the Duke of Bedford's honesty of purpose in the course of the fresh negotiations that inevitably followed Chatham's resignation.

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Lawrence, R. V., M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
LEADAM, ISAAC SAUNDERS, M.A., 1 The Cloisters, Temple, E.C.
LEATHES, STANLEY, M.A., 4 Clement's Inn, W.C.
LEE, SIDNEY, Litt.D., 108 Lexham Gardens, Kensington, W.
Leighton, H. R., East Boldon, Durham.
* Leonard, Miss E. M., 1 Lindfield Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.
*Lepper, R. S., M.A, LL.M., H.H., The Maharaja's College, Trivandrum, Travancore, India.
Lewis, Rev. Thomas Curling, Dodbrooke Rectory, Kingsbridge, Devon.
* Liberty, Arthur Lasenby, F.R.S.S., F.Z.S., J.P., The Manor House, The Lee, near Great Missenden, Bucks.
Limbrick, W. A., Springfield, Leinster Road, Muswell Hill, N.
Little, Andrew G., M.A., Risborough, Vine Court Road, Sevenoaks.
LLOYD, Colonel E. M., R.E., Glenhurst, Brighton Road, Sutton.
*Lloyd, Rev. John, M.A.
Lloyd, J. A., The Studio, Marlborough, Wilts.
Lloyd, Richard Duppa, 2 Addison Crescent, Kensington, W.
* Lobb, John, F.R.G.S., Carlton House, Victoria Park Road, South Hackney.
Lockhart, Arthur W., Christ's Hospital, West Horsham.
* Lodge, Professor R., M.A., 25 Hope Terrace, Edinburgh.
Lomas, Mrs. S. C., Rosslyn, Upper Sydenham, S.E.
Lucas, Frank W., Ferndale, Westcombe Park Road, Blackheath, S.E.
Luck, H. Courtenay, F.R.G.S., J.P., Tivoli, Kangaroo Point, Brisbane, Queensland,
* Lydall, John French, 37 John Street, Bedford Row, W.C.
* Lyle, Thomas, M.A., The Hollies, 41 Beckenham Road, Beckenham, Kent.

MacArthur, Miss E. A., Litt.D., 61A St. Andrew's Street, Cambridge.
Macdermot, T. B., B.A., LL.D., Crewkerne Grammar School, Somerset.
*Mackeson, Edward, F.S.A.
* Maclehose, Miss S. H., 31 Buckingham Terrace, Glasgow, N.B.
Madeley, Rev. Walter, M.A., School House, Woodbridge.
MALDEN, HENRY ELLIOT, M.A., *Hon. Sec.*, The Beacon, St. Catherine's, Guildford.

Marriott, W. K., Manor House, Great Baddow, Essex.
*Marsden, R. G., M.A., 13 Leinster Gardens, Lancaster Gate, W.
Marsh, Dr. G. W. B., B.A., 40 Tachbrook Street, S.W.
Mason, W. A. Parker, B.A., Merchant Taylors School, Crosby, Liverpool.
Mathews, E. R. N., Librarian, Public Libraries, Bristol.
Medley, Prof. D. J., M.A., 6 University Gardens, Glasgow.
Mercer, W. J., 12 Marine Terrace, Margate.
Merriam, C. P., 79 Highbury New Park, N.
Merriman, Roger B., M.A., 26 Quincey Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
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Montague, Professor F. C., 177 Woodstock Road, Oxford.
Moon, Zebedee, Librarian, Public Library, Leyton.
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Sotheran, H. C., 5 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W.
Southam, Lieut.-Colonel H. R. H., F.S.A., Innellan, Shrewsbury.
Southam, Lionel Arthur Clement, Rudney House, Malvern Link.
Spens, H. B., B.A., 25 Park Circus, Glasgow, N.B.
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Stead, Richard, B.A., 46 Finsbury Drive, Bolton, Bradford, Yorks.
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Stockdale, Thomas.
* Strathcona and Mount Royal, The Right Hon. Lord, 28 Grosvenor Square, W.
Synge, Miss M. B., 15 St. Loo Mansions, Cheyne Gardens, S.W.

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Terry, George P. W., 33 Dalmore Road, West Dulwich, S.E.
Terry, Rev. G. F., F.S.A., F.R.S.L., All Souls' Vicarage, 88 Finchley Road, N.W.
Thomson, Miss C. L., 51 Eaton Rise, Ealing, W.
Thornton, Percy M. M.P., 30 Evelyn Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
Thornton, Rev. Canon F. S., The Rectory, Downham, near Ely, Cambs.
Thorp, John T., F.R.S.L., 57 Regent Road, Leicester.
Titcombe, Rev. J. C., Seckford Hospital, Woodbridge.
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Torbitt, William S., M.A., Education Offices, Ilford.
Torr, Herbert James, 46 Lancester Gate, W.
Tout, Professor T. F., M.A., 21 Mauldeth Road, Withington, Manchester.
Traherne, L. E., Coedarhydyglyn, Cardiff.
* Trevelyan, G. M., 2 Cheyne Gardens, S.W.
TREVELYAN, The Right Hon. Sir G. O., Bt., D.C.L., LL.D., D.L., 8 Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.
Turnell, C. M., M.A., Cleveland House, Weymouth.
Turner, Fred A., Waverley Cottage, Adelaide Road, Brentford, W.
* Turton, Robert Bell, Kildale Hall, Grosmont, Yorks.

Udal, The Hon. John Symonds, F.S.A., Chief Justice of the Leeward Islands, Antigua, West Indies.
Underwood, E. G., Litt.B., Brasted, near Sevenoaks, Kent.
Unwin, G., M.A.

Ventura, M., 17 Coleman Street, E.C.
Verney, Lady, Claydon House, Winslow, Bucks.
Vinogradoff, Professor Paul, 39 St. Margaret's Road, Oxford.
* Vickers, K. H., M.A., Cedar Hall, Frenchay, Bristol.

Wade, C. E., M.A., 6 Alexandra House, St. Mary's Terrace, Paddington, W.
* Wagner, Henry, F.S.A., 13 Half Moon Street, Piccadilly, W.
* Walker, Philip F., F.R.G.S., 36 Prince's Gardens, S.W.
* Walker, Robert, F.R.G.S., 3 Grand Parade, W. Hoe, Plymouth.
* Wallace, Sir Donald MacKenzie, St. Ermin's Mansions, Caxton Street, S.W.
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Ward, John Edward, F.R.G.S., Woolmer Hill House, Haslemere.
Ward, the Rev. Canon Bernard, St. Edmund's College, Old Hall, Ware.
Warren, Lieut-General Sir Charles, K.C.B., F.R.S., R.E., 10 Wellington Crescent, Ramsgate.
Watson, E. J., St. John's Arch, Bristol.
* Watts, Rev. Herbert C., The Manse, Kingswood, Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire.
Weaver, F. J., Selborne, Rayne Road, Braintree, Essex.
Weaver, Rev. F. W., M.A., F.S.A., Milton Vicarage, Evercreech, Somerset.
Webb, Sidney, L.C.C., LL.B., 41 Grosvenor Road, S.W.
Webb, T., 45 High Street, Andover.
Webb, W. H., 29 Waldeck Road, Nottingham.
Welby, The Right Hon. Lord, G.C.B., 11 Stratton Street, W.
Wells-Sandford, Miss Mary, 40 St. Giles, Oxford.
Wesley, E. F., 28 Essex Street, Strand, W.C.
* Whatton, J. S., M.A., Chilworth, Torquay.
Whitehead, A. W., 14 Hartington Place, Eastbourne.
Whitehead, Sir James, Bart., Wilmington Manor, near Dartford, Kent.
*Whitehead, Rev. J. H., M.A.
Whiteley, J. G., 223 West Lanvale Street, Baltimore, U.S.A.
Whitley, Rev. W. T., M.A., LL.M., 7 Wolseley Road, Preston.
Whitney, Rev. J. P., 5 Adam's Road, Cambridge.
Whitwell, Robert J., B.Litt., 70 Banbury Road, Oxford.
Willcock, Rev. J., B.D., St. Ringan's Manse, Lerwick, N.B.
Williams, E. P., Elmhurst, Westcombe Park Road, Blackheath, S.E.
*Williams, Rev. J. D., M.A.
Williams, Dr. Thos. E. H., Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W.
Williamson, A., M.A., 43 Fitzroy Avenue, Belfast.
Williamson, John M., Melville House, Overhill Road, Dulwich, S.E.
Willis, W. R., 25 Wiggington Road, York.
Wilson, H. W., 203 Elgin Avenue, W.
Wood, William, 28 St. Mary-at-Hill, Eastcheap, E.C.
Woods, Rev. H. G., D.D. (Master of the Temple), Master's House, The Temple, E.C.
Woodroffe, Prof. Latham James, M.A., Eversley, Park Avenue, Sandymount, Co. Dublin.
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Gorostiraga, Don Angel de, National Archæological Society, Conde de Aranda 6, Madrid.

* Hewins, Professor W. A. S., M.A., Tooke Professor of Political Economy in King's College, London, 15 Chartfield Avenue, Putney Hill, S.W.

Liversidge, Professor A., M.A., F.R.S., University of Sydney, N.S.W.
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Méldahl, Count, Vice-President of the Royal Academy of Arts, Bredgade 71, Copenhagen.
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Nares, Admiral Sir George, K.C.B., F.R.S., 5 Westminster Chambers, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

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Sion College Library, Victoria Embankment, S.W. Librarian, Rev. W. H. Milman.
University College, Gower Street, W.C.
Westfield College, Hampstead, N.W. Librarian, Miss C. A. J. Skeel, M.A.
Dr. Williams's Library, Gordon Square, W.C. Librarian, F. H. Jones.

Manchester Public Libraries. Librarian, Charles W. Sutton.
The John Rylands Library.
Victoria University. Librarian, W. E. Rhodes, M.A.
Middlesbrough Free Library, Municipal Buildings. Librarian, Baker Hudson.
Mirfield House of the Resurrection. Librarian, Rev. W. H. Frere.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Literary and Philosophical Society. Librarian, Basil Anderton, B.A.
Newcastle-on-Tyne Public Library. Librarian, Basil Anderton, B.A.
Newington Public Library, Walworth Road, S.E. Librarian, R. W. Mould.
Norfolk and Norwich Library.
Norwich, Dean and Chapter Library.
Nottingham Free Public Library. Librarian, J. Potter Briscoe.

Oldham, Union Street Library.

Oxford, All Souls College. Librarian, Prof. C. W. Oman, M.A., F.S.A.
Balliol College. Librarian, John Alexander Smith, M.A.
Bodleian Library. Librarian, E. W. B. Nicholson, M.A.
Exeter College. Librarian, Rev. W. C. Allen, M.A.
Keble College.
Magdalen College. Librarian, H. A. Wilson, M.A.
Manchester College. Librarian, Miss L. Toulmin Smith.
Merton College.
Queen's College. Librarian, Rev. E. M. Walker, M.A.
St. John's College. Librarian, Rev. C. F. Burrey, M.A.
Union Society.

Preston Library (Dr. Shepherd's).

Reading Free Public Library, Blagrave Street. Librarian, Wm. H. Greenhaugh.
Rochdale Free Public Library, Esplanade. Librarian, George Hanson.
Rugby Public Library, Librarian, J. W. Kenning.

Shoreditch Public Library, Pitfield Street, N. Librarian, W. C. Plant.
St. Andrews University. Librarian, James Maitland Anderson.
St. Deiniol's Library, Hawarden. Librarian, Rev. G. C. Joyce.
Southport Free Library. Librarian, F. H. Mills.
Stonyhurst College, Whalley, Lancs.

Wimbledon Public Library. Librarian, H. W. Bull.
Windsor Royal Library, Windsor Castle. Librarian, The Hon. J. W. Fortescue.
Workington Public Library. Librarian, J. W. C. Purves.

York Public Library. Librarian, A. H. Furnish.

BRITISH COLONIES.

Adelaide Public Library, S. Australia. Librarian, J. G. R. Adams.
Adelaide University, S. Australia, Librarian, R. J. M. Clucas.

Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Quebec, Canada. Librarian, Rev. H. F. Hamilton, B.D.
Brisbane, Public Library.
Bulawayo Public Library. Librarian, E. F. Miller.

Halifax Legislative Library, Nova Scotia.

Johannesburg Public Library, South Africa. Librarian, J. F. Cadenhead.

Melbourne, Library of the Parliament of the Commonwealth.
Melbourne Public Library, Victoria. Librarian, Dr. T. F. Bride.

New Zealand, General Assembly Library.

Otago University, Dunedin, New Zealand.
Ottawa, Library of the Parliament.

Perth Public Library, Western Australia.
Pretoria Government Library, Pretoria, S. Africa. Librarian, R. W. Heaton, M.A.

Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, South Africa. Librarian, R. J. Cholmeley.

Sydney University, New South Wales. Librarian, H. E. Barff.

Toronto Legislative Library, Canada. Librarian, Avern Pardoe.
Public Library, Canada. Librarian, James Bain.

Victoria Legislative Library, British Columbia, Canada. Librarian, E. O. Scholefield.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

AUSTRIA.

Vienna, K. K. Universitäts-Bibliothek.

BELGIUM.

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale. Librarian, E. Fétis.

DENMARK.

Copenhagen Royal Library. Chief Librarian, Dr. S. Birket Smith.

FRANCE.

Paris, Bibliothèque du Ministère de la Guerre. Librarian, A. Lemoine.
Bibliothèque Nationale. Director, Léopold Delisle.
Institut National.
Université de Paris.

GERMANY.

Berlin, Bibliothek des Deutschen Reichstages.
Königl. Bibliothek. General Director, Prof. Aug. Wilmanns.
Breslau, Königl. Universitäts-Bibliothek. Director, Wilhelm Erman.

Erlangen, University Library.

Freiburg, University Library. Chief Librarian, Prof. Dr. Julius Steup.

Göttingen, Königl. Universitäts-Bibliothek. Director, Prof. Karl Dziatzko.
Greifswald, Königl. Universitäts-Bibliothek. Director, Fritz Milkau.

Halle, Königl. Universitäts-Bibliothek. Director, Karl Gerhard.
Hamburg, City Library. Librarian, Dr. Alfred Küster.
Heidelberg, University Library. Chief Librarian, Prof. Jakob Wille.

Königsberg, Königl. Universitäts-Bibliothek. Director, Karl Boysen.

Marburg, Königl. Universitäts-Bibliothek. Director, Johannes Rödiger.
Munich, K. B. Hof-Staats-Bibliothek. Director, Dr. Georg v. Laubmann.

Prague, University Library.

Strassburg, Kaiserliche Universitäts- und Landes-Bibliothek.

RUSSIA.

Moscow, Royal Library.

SWEDEN.

Stockholm, Royal Library. Chief Librarian, Graf Karl Johan Gustav Snoilsky.

UNITED STATES.

Baltimore, Enoch Pratt Library. Librarian, Bernard C. Steiner, Ph.D.
Boston Athenæum. Librarian, Charles K. Bolton.
Public Library. Librarian, James L. Whitney.
Brunswick, Maine, Bowdoin College. Librarian, G. P. Little.
Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania. Librarian, Miss I. E. Ford.

California University Library, Berkeley, California. Assistant Librarian, J. D. Layman.
Chicago Public Library. Librarian, Frederick H. Hild.
Newberry Library. Librarian, J. V. Cheney.
University. Librarian, Zella Allen Dixon.
Cincinnati Public Library, Ohio.
Cornell University Library, Ithaca, New York. Librarian, G. W. Harris.

Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, New Hampshire.

Grand Rapids Public Library, Grand Rapids, Mass., U.S.A.
Grosvenor Public Library, Buffalo, New York.

Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Mass. Librarian, Wm. C. Lane.

Indiana University.

Jersey City Free Library. Librarian, Miss Esther E. Burdick.

Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.
Kansas University, Lawrence, Kansas, U.S.A.

Massachusetts, Wellesley College. Librarian, Miss C. F. Pierce.
Michigan, Detroit Public Library. Librarian, H. M. Utley.
Hoyt Public Library, Saginaw, East Side. Librarian, Miss H. H. Ames.
State Library, Lansing. Librarian, Mrs. Mary C. Spencer.
University, Ann Arbor. Librarian, T. C. Koch.
Milwaukee Public Library. Librarian, G. W. Peckham.
Minneapolis, Athenæum Library.
Minnesota University. Librarian, Wm. W. Folwell.
Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass., U.S.A. Librarian, Miss B. E. Blakely.

Newark Free Public Library, New Jersey. Librarian, John Cotton Dana.
New York Public Library. Chief Librarian, J. S. Billings.
State Library. Librarian, Melvil Dewey.
Columbia University. Librarian, James H. Canfield.

Peabody Institute, Baltimore, Maryland.
Pennsylvania University. Librarian, Morris Jastrow.
Philadelphia Library Company. Librarian, J. G. Barnwell.
Pittsburg, Carnegie Library. Librarian, E. H. Anderson.
Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. Librarian, E. C. Richardson.
Providence, R.I., Brown University. Librarian, H. L. Koopman.

San Francisco Free Public Library. Librarian, G. T. Clark.
Springfield City Library, Mass. Librarian, Hiller C. Wellmann.
St. Louis Public Library, Missouri.
South Bethlehem, Pa., Lehigh University. Librarian, Professor J. L. Stewart.

Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York.
Virginia State Library, Richmond, Va. Librarian, J. P. Kennedy.

Washington, Catholic University of America. Librarian, J. M. Cooney.
Congress Library. Librarian, Herbert Putnam.
Wisconsin, State Historical Society of. Librarian, I. S. Bradley.

Yale University, New Haven, Conn. Librarian, Addison Van Name.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

WHICH EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS WITH THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, London, W.
Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Queen Street, Edinburgh.
The Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion, 63 Chancery Lane, W.C.
Surrey Archæological Society, Guildford.
Victoria University, Manchester.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES ABROAD

WHICH EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS WITH THE SOCIETY.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Kaiserl. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Vienna.
Königl. böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Altstadt, c. N^{r} 562, Prague.

BELGIUM.

Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts, Palais des Académies, Brussels.
Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique, Rue du Transvaal, 53, Antwerp.
Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles, 11 Rue Ravenstein, Brussels.

CANADA.

Toronto University.
Archives of the Department of Agriculture, Ottawa.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

South African Library, Cape Town.

DENMARK.

Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, Copenhagen.

FRANCE.

Bibliothèque de l'Université de Toulouse, 2 Rue de l'Université, Toulouse, Haute-Garonne.
Société de l'Histoire de France, 60 Rue des Francs-Bourgeois, Paris.
Société d'Histoire Diplomatique, 18 Rue Vignon, Paris.
Société de l'Ecole Nationale des Chartes, 17 Rue de la Sorbonne, Paris.
Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 20 Rue de l'Est, Poitiers.

GERMANY.

Historische Litteraturgesellschaft, Friedensstrasse 11, Berlin.

HOLLAND.

Commissie van Advies voor Rijks Geschied-kundige Publicatien. The Hague.

ITALY.

Reale Archivio, Florence.
Reale Academia dei Lincei, Rome.
Reale Academia Lucchese di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Lucca.
Reale Archivio di Stato, Lucca.
Società Romana di Storia Patria (Rome).
Società di Storia Patria per la Sicilia Orientale, Catania.

MEXICO.

Museo Nacional, D.F., Mexican Republic, Mexico.

NOVA SCOTIA.

The Nova Scotia Historical Society, Halifax, N.S.

PORTUGAL.

Academia Real das Sciencias, Lisbon.
Portugalia, Rue do Conde, 21, Porto.

ROUMANIA.

Academia Romana, Bucharest.

RUSSIA.

Russian Imperial Historical Society, St. Petersburg.
Société Impériale Russe d'Archéologie, St.-Pétersbourg.
Bibliothèque de l'Université impériale de Juriew, Juriew (Dorpat), Russia.

SOUTH AMERICA.

Academia Nacional de la Historia, Caraccas, Venezuela.

SPAIN.

Real Academia de la Historia, Calle del Leon, 21, Madrid.

SWEDEN.

Kongl. Vitterhets Historie Antiquitets Akademien, National Museum, Stockholm.
The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Sweden, Stockholm.
The University, Upsala.

SWITZERLAND.

Historische und Antiquarische Gesellschaft, 3n Basel, Sonnenweg, 15.

UNITED STATES.

The Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.
New England Historic-Genealogical Society, 18 Somerset Street, Boston, Mass.
The New York Historical Society, 170 Second Avenue, New York.
The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia.
The Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
The Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, R.I.
The Virginia Historical Society, 707 East Franklin Street, Richmond, Va.
The Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.
The South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, S.C.
The New Jersey Historical Society, West Park Street, Newark, N.J.
The New Hampshire State Library, Concord, U.S.A.
The Connecticut Historical Society, Hertford, Conn.
American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
Texas State Historical Society, Austin, Texas.

The Council are not responsible for the accuracy of the foregoing list, but they request that any inaccuracy or omission may be pointed out to the Secretary, and that all changes of address may be notified to him, so that delay in forwarding communications and the Publications of the Society may be avoided.

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